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A SOCIALIST NEWSW

ED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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**RATIFY
THE
ERA!**



Militant/Nancy Rosenstock

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Indian leader wounded

'Execution try' charged in Means shooting

By José Pérez

American Indian Movement leader Russell Means and AIM member John Thomas were shot and wounded early in the morning May 5 in Wagner, South Dakota, on the Yankton Sioux Reservation.

Indian leaders charged the shootings were a government-inspired "execution attempt." A May 7 statement by AIM South Dakota coordinator Ted Means said the incident fit the pattern outlined in recent news stories revealing how government agents provoke violence between activists.

The statement pointed to three previous attempts to kill Russell Means in the past two years, in which AIM says Bureau of Indian Affairs police officers were involved. In particular, AIM singled out the role of BIA police officer Howard John Fuller.

In summer 1974, Russell Means was attacked with a pool cue by Fuller in Valentine, Nebraska. Means received severe head injuries and was in a coma for twenty-two hours. There was no investigation and no arrests.

On June 7, 1975, Russell Means was shot in the back by BIA police officer Pat Kelly in Cannon Ball, North Dakota. Means was then charged with interfering with a federal

officer. Although Means was later acquitted, the government has taken no action against the cop who shot him.

On July 28, Means was shot at from another car carrying three people while he was traveling near the Rosebud Indian Reservation in South Dakota. The bullet grazed his head. The Early Autumn 1975 issue of *Akwasasne Notes* quoted Means as saying, "Of course I know who did it . . . Howard John Fuller, a BIA policeman, was with them. He tried to kill me . . . in Valentine."

Means charged that the government was out to get him. "It just doesn't happen that I get shot at more often than most people."

Again, authorities took no action against Fuller or the other attackers.

According to the AIM statement, the unusual events surrounding the latest shooting were as follows:

Russell Means and John Thomas were on the Yankton Sioux Reservation at the invitation of a BIA official. They were there to discuss the upcoming International Indian Treaty Conference, which will be held on the reservation in June.

The two AIM activists were asked to come to a residence the night of May 4



RUSSELL MEANS

Militant/Skip Ball

for a meeting. When they arrived, they found that Fuller was there. After a verbal confrontation with the AIM members, Fuller left.

Another argument then took place,

and two occupants, Mike Weston and Jim Weddell, pulled out weapons. The two AIM members were ordered outside and shot. Further details of the shootings were not given in the AIM statement.

A May 5 Associated Press dispatch reported that four men, including Weston and Weddell, had been arrested in connection with the shooting. Fuller was not among them.

Weston and Weddell were among the "Yankton Seven," Indian activists charged for last year's occupation of a pork plant in Wagner.

Means and Thomas were hospitalized but are expected to recover fully.

In the wake of the shootings, the state of South Dakota is once again trying to victimize Means. Sydney Strange, Means's attorney in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, told the *Militant* that a formal investigation has been launched by authorities to determine whether Means violated conditions on his bail.

Strange said, "Once all the facts are in, they're going to see there's no bail violation."

Means is free pending appeal of a conviction on charges stemming from an April 1974 police attack on Indians in a Sioux Falls courthouse.

Rally hits anti-Black cross burnings in L.A.

By Janice Lynn

REDONDO BEACH, Calif.—It was just before dawn on April 13 when a loud noise awakened Clifton Brandon and his family.

They arose to find that an axe had been smashed into the front door of their home here.

On the front lawn, a cross was blazing.

The Brandons are Black. Redondo Beach, a suburb of Los Angeles, is predominantly white.

Fearing for the safety of their five children, the Brandons immediately moved to another city.

This was only the first of a rash of

Ku Klux Klan-type cross burnings aimed at terrorizing Black families in the Los Angeles area.

On May 8, 300 people gathered in Redondo Beach for an emergency rally to protest the attacks. In just the week before the rally, four more cross burnings were reported.

Police have failed to provide protection for Black families endangered by these assaults, prompting residents to organize their own nighttime vigils. Law enforcement officials brush off the incidents as "kids playing games."

But the day after the cross burning at the Brandons', posters appeared in the area bearing the slogan "White

Man Wake Up." They listed the address of a KKK bookstore in Louisiana and the local post office box of a group called the "Christian Patriots."

David Duke, national head of the white-supremacist outfit, boasts of a "rebirth of the Klan" in Redondo Beach and other California cities.

At the May 8 rally, attorney Charles Johnson, president of the Southern California NAACP, linked the cross burnings to antibusing resistance in Pasadena and in Los Angeles, where a court will rule soon on a school desegregation plan.

Last January a six-foot cross was burned at the cemetery where Judge

Alfred Gitelson, who ordered desegregation of Los Angeles schools, had just been buried.

"This is a nationwide offensive by right-wing forces," Johnson declared. "These are not isolated incidents by kooks or small children or local bigots, but rather a well-financed, well-organized campaign which I think goes further up the establishment."

Manuel Barrera of the Student Coalition Against Racism told the rally, "When Ford makes a statement against 'forced busing,' that is a cross burned."

"When the Supreme Court agrees to

Continued on page 26

Evidence points to frame-up in St. Louis trial

By Peter Seidman

ST. LOUIS—The case against J.B. Johnson was branded a "fabrication and a frame-up" by defense attorney William Kunstler in opening arguments May 6 in the Black youth's second trial.

Inconsistencies in the testimony of the first prosecution witnesses lend credence to Kunstler's assertion.

Johnson, twenty-six, is accused of being an accomplice in the 1970 shooting of James Boevingloh, a white police officer, during a jewelry store robbery.

The state's case, as outlined by Assistant Prosecuting Attorney Thomas Dittmeier, rests on much the same evidence that led to Johnson's conviction in 1972. That conviction was thrown out last year by the Missouri Supreme Court, which ordered the new trial.

The prosecution has called five witnesses so far. Here are highlights of their testimony:

• Adam Bakos, owner of the jewelry store, claimed that he had identified Johnson in a police lineup a few hours after the robbery.

Kunstler showed Bakos proof that he had never identified Johnson prior to the first trial. Bakos then became extremely hostile and evasive, claiming that earlier court records and depositions were in error.

Finally, prosecutor Dittmeier stepped into the dispute and stated for the record that in fact Bakos had not identified Johnson before the first trial.

• Boevingloh's partner the day of the robbery testified that Bakos had told police immediately after the robbery that the accomplice was wearing



dark clothing. Johnson was wearing a yellow sweater when arrested.

• The prosecution produced a new witness, Betty Raemdonck. Raemdonck claimed to have seen "a nice looking colored boy," whom she identified as J.B. Johnson, walk past her home near the jewelry store a few minutes after the robbery.

Raemdonck could offer no reasonable explanation for why she had waited five and a half years to come forward with this identification.

Under cross-examination by Kunstler, she did admit that her husband was a close friend of one of Boevingloh's partners, Charles Drummond, who now works in the county prosecutor's office!

Despite the evidence of a crude conspiracy to frame J.B. Johnson, his freedom remains in great jeopardy. The case will be decided not by a jury of his peers, but by an all-white jury whose average age is fifty-four.

Judge William Corrigan rejected defense challenges—based on the systematic exclusion of Blacks and young people—to the constitutionality of this jury.

Meanwhile, the National Committee to Free J.B. Johnson is continuing its efforts to publicly expose and discredit the second frame-up of Johnson. Attorney Kunstler spoke before an audience of 600 at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale May 4. Other speakers for the committee have addressed centers and churches in the Black community.

For more information, or to volunteer your help, contact: National Committee to Free J.B. Johnson, Post Office Box 4713, St. Louis, Missouri 63108. Telephone: (314) 725-0319.



ERA debate: socialist-feminist versus right-winger

Militant/Lora Eckert

DIANNE FEELEY

[On April 28, 400 people attended a debate on the Equal Rights Amendment at Georgia State University. Dianne Feeley argued for the ERA, and Phyllis Schlafly opposed it. Feeley heads the ERA Committee of the New York National Organization for Women and is a member of the Socialist Workers party. Schlafly is the central leader of STOP ERA. Following are excerpts from their opening presentations.]

DIANNE FEELEY

According to public opinion polls, supporters of the ERA outnumber opponents at least two to one. Look at some of the organizations that have endorsed passage of the Equal Rights

Amendment: the AFL-CIO, the American Civil Liberties Union, Church Women United, the NAACP, the YWCA, the National Organization for Women.

All recognize that women are still shackled by legal inequality on the eve of the bicentennial.

The working woman earns 57 percent of the wages her male co-worker receives. For the average Black woman, her earnings are even lower.

The medical, pension, and Social Security benefits a woman and her dependents or survivors receive are not equal to those of the working man. The married woman living in most community-property states finds that the laws give the male the right to make the fundamental decisions about the property. [In] mandatory disability

plans, pregnancy is usually an exempted category. Women face discrimination in admissions and scholarship grants at state universities. A woman prisoner frequently spends a longer time behind bars than her male counterpart.

Legal discrimination runs the gamut in American life from the workplace to the home.

For more than a century, women have sued for their equal rights, usually under the Fourteenth Amendment, which says that no state can deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. But still, the Supreme Court has not ruled on or outlawed most gender-based classifications [of discrimination].

'Special privilege' vs. rights

Today, the opposition likes to claim that women will lose out by passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. As Phyllis Schlafly wrote in 1972, "Why should we lower ourselves to 'equal rights' when we already have the status of special privilege?"

Historically, expansion of constitutional rights has not meant taking away rights while bestowing others, but extending rights to a disenfranchised group. But the opposition has always attempted to persuade the newly included group that it is not in their self-interest to have these democratic rights.

The slavocracy said that slaves would lose certain "protections" if slavery was abolished. The opponents of women's suffrage claimed that disenfranchisement was a "privilege" bestowed on women who were above "dirty politics."

How will current legislation be affected by the Equal Rights Amendment? There are two different kinds of legal discrimination women face.

In some cases the law is purely restrictive, as in the case where women are prohibited from specific occupations—always, interestingly enough, the higher-paying categories. This kind of restrictive law would be voided.

But there is another aspect to discrimination. There are laws which function to discriminate because they are applied to one sex only.

For instance, there exist a number of "protective" labor laws setting minimal health and safety standards. Originally intended to provide coverage for all workers in a given industry, these laws were voided for men by the courts.

Over the years working women saw how these laws functioned to keep women out of certain occupations, or out of the higher-paid job classifications. Under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act women began to sue—not



PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY

to have these laws voided, but to remove the basis of discrimination by extending the laws to include both sexes. Precedents have been established that laws which have provided benefits for one sex will simply be extended to the other.

The forces backing the Equal Rights Amendment are the same forces that have backed positive legislation that has already been passed, such as the 1963 Equal Pay Act and the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

What about Phyllis Schlafly's record on women's rights?

Schlafly has denounced a bill to set up federally funded child-care centers. She objects to universal child-care centers because such a program would cost several billion dollars. But she does not object to a war budget of \$115 billion.

What about in the area of employment? She states that there are not enough jobs to go around and, therefore, each couple should decide which member should work. But millions of married women work because without their added wages, their families would live in poverty.

She also opposes the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.

Instead of committing herself as a woman to alter women's oppression, Schlafly tries to glorify and romanticize the discrimination.

One technique she uses is to attribute to the Equal Rights Amendment what is in fact an economic change. For instance, she says that passage of the ERA will "force" women out of the home and into the job market. It isn't passage of the Equal Rights Amendment which has turned us into workers, but the economic reality of our lives.

Phyllis Schlafly stands in opposition to civil rights not just for women, but other oppressed groups as well. On busing she wrote, "In many areas the whole fabric of harmonious interpersonal relationships and peaceful academic atmosphere has been torn asunder by court-ordered or HEW-ordered forced busing. The learning process will not function in the face of bayonets, smoldering resentment, and fear of violence." In other words, she doesn't believe Blacks should fight for their rights and demand that the government enforce desegregated schools.

'Rights won by movements'

I believe that the whole course of history teaches us that rights for working people, for Blacks, for women have been won by building movements around our demands and working to secure them. That has been the lesson of the abolitionist movement, the suffrage movement, the trade-union movement, and the movement against

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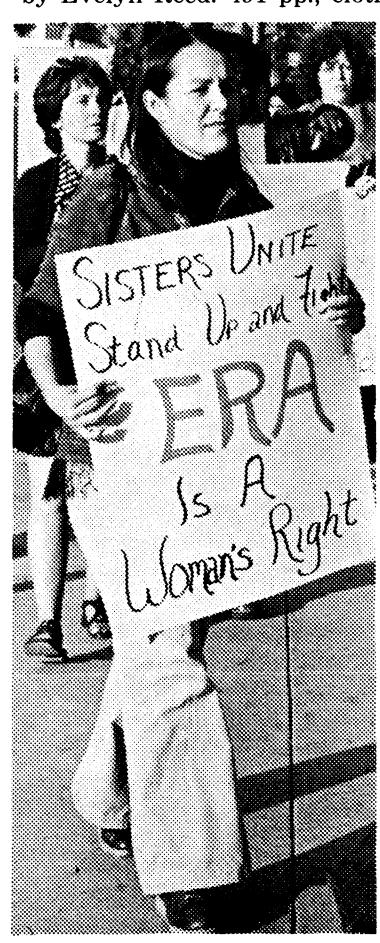
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the war in Vietnam.

It will require a struggle to win passage of the ERA, because this economic system is not organized on the basis of human needs, but on the basis of what is profitable. For example, it has been very profitable to deny equal rights to women. In the area of pay alone, if women working the same number of hours as men were paid the same salary in 1970, it would have cost employers \$96 billion more.

As a feminist and as a socialist, I don't think passage and even implementation of the ERA will completely end discrimination against women, any more than passage of the civil rights legislation of the 1960s ended racism. But passage of the ERA will have profound implications.

For women, the ERA opens up a discussion about the depth and nature of discrimination in every area, including child rearing and the role of the family; the nature of social roles and expectations; and the need for extensive affirmative-action programs.

In addition, passage of the Equal Rights Amendment will be a tremendous inspiration to the struggle for Black rights, for the trade-union movement, for gay rights. For all these reasons, I support, and urge you to support, ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. And I urge you to demonstrate in Springfield, Illinois, on May 16 at NOW's National Rally for Equal Rights.

PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY

Good evening, fellow citizens.

The word equality, of course, has a beautiful ring. The language of the Equal Rights Amendment is, "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied by the United States or any state on account of sex."

Now, let us consider for a moment the substitution of one word in that amendment. Suppose we substitute age for the word sex so that it would read, "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of age." Would you be for that?

Well, of course, if we had that it would carry the vote right down to the cradle, because you acquire your citizenship at the time that you're born.

We would have to eliminate Social Security, because only people over sixty-two get Social Security. That is age discriminatory.

So we find that we do tolerate differences of treatment, and we do think that justice in this country demands that we do identify certain groups and we impose different rights and different obligations.

I would suggest, first of all, that the drafters of the Equal Rights Amendment made a fatal error when they chose the word *equality*. If they had

said *equity* it would have been OK, because it would have been able to do a bit of balancing based on certain differences between men and women.

'No matter how reasonable'

Now let's discuss what the ERA will do in our country. Of course, we can't speak with positive and absolute finality about what it will do, because ultimately the Supreme Court will decide.

I think it is a reasonable prediction that what it will mean is that the Supreme Court will hold that sex must be treated with the same strict scrutiny in the application of everything that's touched by government in the same way that over the past few years they have been treating race.

by General Motors or some private industry. ERA has nothing to do with equal pay for equal work or giving women equal rights in employment.

Then there is also Section 2 of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Section 2 says that Congress will have the power to enforce it by appropriate legislation. This is the grab for power at the federal level. This is giving into the hands of the Washington politicians and bureaucrats the last remaining piece of jurisdiction that they haven't yet gotten their meddling fingers into.

The fact of Section 2 and what it would do is, I believe, the reason why the principal push for the Equal Rights Amendment today comes from the people on the federal payroll.

And I go around the country to

basis they discriminated, they said on the basis of laws and cited the various laws.

Draft

Feeley. First of all, I oppose the draft for both men and women. I feel that my participation in the anti-Vietnam War movement had some results. We have no draft in this country at the present time. I believe that the impact of the antiwar movement has been so strong that it will be very difficult to bring back the draft—and even more difficult if women were liable to be drafted.

Affirmative action

Feeley. First of all, I'd like to make it clear that there are enough goods and services and jobs that can be made available in this society for everyone. We are basically a society of abundance. That's not the problem. The problem is distribution.

Now, we're talking about Black people, we're talking about Spanish-speaking people; we're talking about women—these people have suffered historically. They have been "preferentially," if you will, discriminated against.

So you take two people [a man and a woman] who have very different kinds of training and background and social expectations. You can't just have equal pay for equal work. You also have to have affirmative-action programs—inspired by the concept of *real* equality.

That kind of affirmative action has to not only put women into different occupations, but accelerate them at a faster pace. And, in time of high unemployment, such as we're going through now, it seems to me that the trade-union movement has a real responsibility to make sure that gains made by Blacks and women through affirmative action are not wiped out overnight through their being the first fired.

Schlaflly. Well, I think that statement shows that you really don't then believe in equal rights at all. You believe in weighting things according to your notions of how the rest of us ought to conform.

I am for equal employment opportunity. I am not for reverse discrimination to give jobs to women over more qualified men. I am not for saying that you should have a quota of women in order to remedy some alleged discrimination of twenty-five years ago and therefore throw out the more qualified man, who may be supporting a family.

Child care

Schlaflly. I do not support the proposition that babies are the responsibility of the government. I think babies are the responsibility of their parents.

Now, some of you may be thinking, what do you do if you're poor? Let me tell you, I'll bet there isn't anybody in this room, Black or white, who grew up in as much poverty as I grew up in. . . . But at no time did we think that taking care of children is the responsibility of the government. You solve these problems within the family unit.

Feeley. I strongly believe in twenty-four-hour child-care centers, federally financed and controlled by the people who send their children to them.

I think that society has got to begin to understand that children are not just the individual responsibility of the biological mother, but it's a social responsibility to make sure that every single child is properly cared for.

As society is currently structured, the children of the rich people have many more rights than other children. If you're born in Harlem, your chance of infant mortality is twice as great as if you're born on Park Avenue.

Today, women are penalized for bearing children and for having the major responsibility for the caring for them.



Fighters for ERA understand real message of women's rights opponents



Militant/Kendall Green

By Cindy Jaquith

The women's liberation struggle is marked by a contradiction today. On every front in the fight for equality, the opponents of women are on the offensive.

• Anti-ERA forces are organizing to prevent ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

• Anti-abortion groups are waging the most intensive attack on legal abortion since the 1973 Supreme Court ruling.

• Funds for day care are being slashed across the country.

• Jobs won by women and Blacks through affirmative-action programs are being wiped out by layoffs.

• The Democratic and Republican candidates for president are either ignoring the plight of women and minorities or speaking out for "ethnic purity" and the "right to life of the unborn."

These assaults stand in stark contradiction to the fact that there is broader popular support than ever before for the goals of the women's liberation movement.

A Louis Harris poll released in December 1975, right after New York and New Jersey voters had rejected state Equal Rights Amendments, discovered the following:

"Despite serious voting setbacks for the Equal Rights Amendment last month, a decisive 63-25 percent of the American people favor 'most of the efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society.'

"This is a dramatic rise since 1970," Harris noted, "when a narrow, 42-41 percent plurality felt that way."

He concluded that "there is no doubt that real and significant changes have taken place in the attitude of women over the past five years since 1970."

Roots of contradiction

What are the roots of this apparent contradiction? What does it mean for the women's liberation struggle, and particularly for the fight to win the ERA?

The most visible and vocal enemies of women's liberation are the STOP ERA groups, anti-abortion "right to lifers," Catholic church hierarchy, and other reactionary organizations. But to understand the full scope of the forces women are up against, we must look at the social and economic crisis that fuels the anti-ERA and anti-abortion offensive.

The current battle for equal rights takes place in a different objective situation than existed when the new feminist movement arose in the late 1960s. Today, despite the "recovery" from the 1974-75 depression, the United States is in a long-term economic crisis. The solution of big business is to make working people pay—through higher prices, lower wages, fewer jobs, and fewer social services.

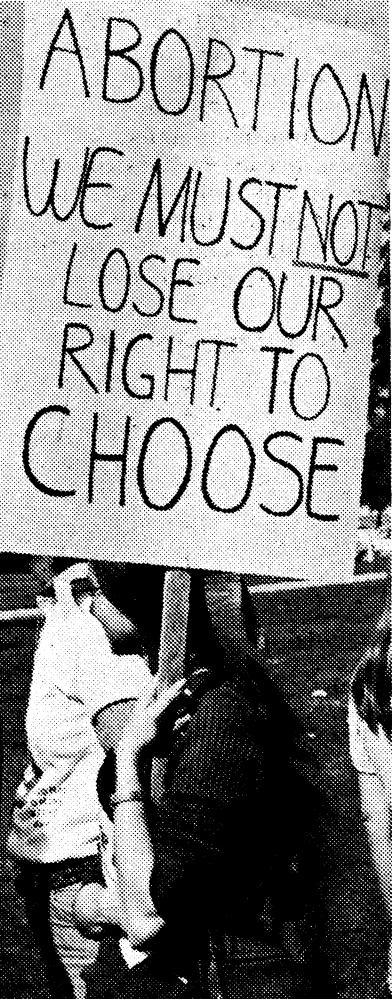
The most crushing burden has fallen on minorities and women. A dramatic example is the layoffs in New York City. According to the February 20 *New York Times*, "In the last 18 months . . . the city lost half of its Spanish-speaking workers, 40 percent of the Black males on the payroll and almost a third of its female workers."

The "recovery" is a cruel hoax, as shown by the slap in the face given working mothers on May 5, when the Democratic-controlled Congress upheld President Ford's veto of a \$125 million bill for day care. The impact of this ruthless move can be judged from the fact that in Illinois alone, 35,000 of the 40,000 children in day care may be thrown out of their centers.

The purpose of such drastic cuts in child care is twofold. It is being used to force women out of the labor market on the one hand. How often do we hear the argument that women are taking jobs away from the family breadwinner (always presumed to be male, of course)?

On the other hand, the day-care cuts are designed to take another bite out of the living standards of those who

Women and the fight for equal rights today



Militant/Arnold Weissberg



Militant/Harry Ring



Militant/José Pérez

work, forcing the individual family to bear an even larger proportion of the burden of raising children.

No 'recovery' for women

While there will be fluctuations in the economy, the child-care vote in Congress reveals the two capitalist parties' real intentions for working people. Cutbacks and layoffs—and new attempts to squeeze a few more drops of sweat and blood out of those who work for a living—are going to be a permanent feature of this economic period. They will cut deeper and deeper into the rights and expectations of workers, deepest of all into the gains won by the most oppressed.

Women are being told that we've won too much; our drive for jobs, child care, equal pay, equal education, and the right to abortion went "too far." The "luxury" of equality can no longer be afforded, the capitalists say, so women should go back to the home, where we belong.

Of course, equality for women does cost them money, and that's what the offensive against us is all about.

The attempt to pit women's needs against those of other cutback victims, or to pit Black against white workers, is also part of the ruling-class strategy.

It helps disguise the fundamental conflict—the class conflict—between working people and capitalists.

A class polarization is developing out of this crisis, with reactionary, antilabor groupings becoming more visible and bold. The cutting edge of their attacks is racism, focused today on Blacks in Boston. But these right-wingers have also taken up crusades against the women's movement, particularly around the issues of abortion and the ERA. The logic of their development is against the labor movement as a whole.

Importance of ERA

It is in this context that the ERA has emerged as a national political issue. The right wing has seized upon this simple statement of equality for women as a symbol. As Phyllis Schlafly, head of STOP ERA, puts it, a vote against the ERA is a vote against everything the women's movement stands for.

This challenge makes the outcome of the ERA ratification battle a critical one for women, and for all the allies of the women's liberation struggle—the labor movement and the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities.

Recognition of this fact has led even

the most conservative union officials, such as AFL-CIO President George Meany, to urge that passage of the ERA be made a priority for labor. Meany, who has also defended the AFL-CIO's stand in support of busing, sees the handwriting on the wall—defeat of the ERA or of desegregation will embolden the right-to-work, strike-breaking leadership of these reactionary groups into more direct attacks on the strongest, best organized sectors of the labor movement.

With this powerful backing, and majority support in the population, why hasn't the ERA been ratified? The chief reason is that the union officials and influential sections of the women's movement, especially the National Organization for Women (NOW), have put their confidence in the very same capitalist politicians who are responsible for the fact that the ERA has not become law.

A strategy of lobbying state legislators and electing "pro-ERA" Democrats and Republicans has been counterposed to organizing and mobilizing ERA backers by the thousands in actions whose impact the politicians cannot ignore.

Illinois is a case in point. The most powerful political chief in the state—Chicago Mayor Richard Daley—is on

record in support of the ERA. Yet the ERA has been defeated there four years straight, despite extensive lobbying by women and endless campaign promises from politicians.

What is needed to pass the ERA in Illinois is not appeals to the good graces of "Boss" Daley but a powerful movement that can put the Illinois state legislature on the spot.

May 16: a step forward

The first step toward building that movement will be taken when thousands of ERA supporters converge on the Illinois state capitol in Springfield on May 16. Now called this National Rally for Equal Rights after the defeat of state ERAs in New York and New Jersey alerted many to the need for a new strategy in this fight.

The May 16 march has struck a responsive chord throughout the women's liberation movement. It has also won a response in the trade unions, including endorsement by locals of the United Auto Workers; American Federation of Teachers; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; National Education Association; and the St. Louis Central Labor Council.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) has played a key role in organizing the labor support for the demonstration, opening up an office, contacting local unions, and distributing publicity for May 16 directed especially to trade unionists.

Local chapters of the NAACP and National Council of Negro Women, as well as Black student groups, have lent support to the action.

Decisive power

It is Black women, Puerto Rican women, Chicanas, and working women who have the most to gain from passage of the ERA. Their power will be decisive in this fight.

In building for May 16, ERA supporters have begun to involve significant numbers of women never before active in women's liberation activities. On the next demonstration, we need more Blacks, more trade unionists, more Puerto Ricans, more Chicanas, more students, and more women and men from all walks of life who support the ERA.

Regardless of how large May 16 is, it will set the example for the kind of independent political action that must be used to win the ERA. The job of such a movement is to involve masses of women and men in visible, public protests, focused on the government, raising the clear demand: Ratify the ERA!

Such actions, which are not subordinated to any political candidates and whose demands are not tailored to the electoral needs of any party, can have the same kind of impact that the mass demonstrations against the Vietnam War had—confronting the capitalist politicians with a movement representing the sentiment of the overwhelming majority of Americans. The antiwar movement forced an end to the Vietnam War. The same strategy can force four remaining states to ratify the ERA.

During this election year, pressures will increase for women and all victims of the economic crisis to set aside our struggles, stay out of the streets, and instead work to elect the "lesser evil" candidate. The ERA struggle must remain independent of the Democratic and Republican parties—the parties that are carrying out the cutbacks and layoffs—not subordinated to them.

Our real allies in this fight are the thousands who will march in Springfield May 16, and the millions of potential supporters we can reach by keeping this movement independent and in the streets.

A mass-action strategy based on the power of women and their allies can win the ERA. This victory can propel forward the battle on all fronts against the sexist, racist, labor-hating forces that rule this country.

Stalinists join Klan, ROAR in opposing the ERA

By Ginny Hildebrand

"Don't fight for women's rights." That's the message behind the Communist party's opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment.

The CP will not be marching on Springfield, Illinois, for ERA ratification May 16.

The Stalinists have refused to link arms with members of the United Auto Workers; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Teamsters; National Organization for Women; NAACP; Operation PUSH; Socialist Workers party, and the many other participants in this important mobilization.

What has the CP said?

- "In view of the serious problems and contradictions, we cannot recommend that you vote for the Equal Rights Amendment." (October 25, 1975, issue of the *Daily World*, the CP's newspaper, one week before New York and New Jersey state ERA referenda.)

- "CP says defeat of ERA no setback for women." (November 18, 1975, *Daily World* headline after the crushing defeats of the referenda.)

On the side of ERA ratification stand every major women's rights organization, the trade-union movement, Black rights and civil liberties organizations—just about every group that is identified with struggles for democratic rights.

Lined up on the other side are the John Birch Society, Ku Klux Klan, Young Americans for Freedom, ROAR (Boston's chief antibusing group) and Phyllis Schlafly's STOP ERA.

In the midst of this pack of right-wingers is the Stalinist Communist party.

You might think that a group claiming to represent the working class would have bolted from a side that was crawling with venomous antilabor, anti-Black, antiwomxn, and anticommunist forces.

But no. Instead, the CP is peddling radical-sounding excuses to cover up its reactionary opposition to the ERA.

In the March 1976 issue of *Political Affairs*, CP leader Carmen Ristorucci tried to explain "Why We Oppose the ERA." Ristorucci states: "The amendment is a *mandate for equality* which, in its simple declaration of equality of rights between men and women in law, does not define what is needed to achieve full equality."

True. Many more battles will have to

be fought before women are free from oppression. But does that justify being on the *wrong side* of the battle today?

Ristorucci claims that the CP would support a women's rights amendment if it prescribed everything from "equal pay for equal work" to "quality education for all" to a "guaranteed income."

But why stop there? These demands alone are not enough to guarantee women's liberation either. Why support anything short of a socialist revolution?

A basic principle for any genuinely revolutionary organization is to unconditionally support all struggles for democratic rights, including equal rights for women under the law. And that is the meaning of the ERA.

The ERA is not the first constitutional "mandate for equality." The Fourteenth Amendment, one of the antislavery provisions, states that equal rights and protection under the law must be guaranteed to all citizens. It took a civil war to establish that "simple declaration of equality" for Blacks.

But the logic of the CP's position would have been to oppose this amendment because it does not "define what is needed to achieve full equality" for Blacks.

Doesn't the CP recognize that the Fourteenth Amendment has been a valuable tool in the struggle for Black civil rights?

Does the CP dismiss the 1954 Supreme Court ban on school segregation and the 1964 Civil Rights Act on the grounds that these reforms did not implement full equality?

A number of Communist party members are finding the CP's position hard to stomach. Bettina Aptheker, the Santa Clara County chairperson of the CP, came out against the CP's anti-ERA line at a panel on "Feminism and Socialism" at San Jose State College on March 12. She said that the logic of her party's anti-ERA arguments would be to oppose many of the reforms won by the working-class movement. She was 100 percent right.

In an effort to appease its own members and pose as champions of women's rights, the CP has drawn up a "Women's Bill of Rights." This is a list of demands for jobs, health and child care, and welfare rights—with some general condemnations of racism and corporate monopolies thrown in.

The demands include some things



CP CHIEF GUS HALL: Would he have opposed Fourteenth Amendment, too?

women need. The question is, what is the CP doing about them? Nothing.

The Women's Bill of Rights is a diversion—a gimmick to counterpose to the ERA and the living struggle for women's rights.

The CP is not serious about fighting for women's demands. This was made perfectly clear by Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, the CP's candidates for president and vice-president, when they announced their campaign. In their statement, printed in the February 19 *Daily World*, there was no mention of the Women's Bill of Rights.

No mention of any demands for women's rights.

Not even an utterance of the word "woman"!

There is no way for the CP to graciously oppose the ERA. The aggressive right-wing campaign to defeat it and the new countermobilization of pro-ERA forces place the question before every political organization: Which side are you on?

To the dissident CP members hoping to change their party's position, we wish you luck. The pro-ERA movement needs all possible reinforcements to win this battle.

But in the meantime, the Stalinists stand on the wrong side of the class lineup on this question. They are misusing the name of socialism.

The real socialists stand squarely for the ERA and all struggles along the road to women's liberation.

May 21-22 Los Angeles conference on feminism & socialism

Fri., May 21, 8 p.m.

IS BIOLOGY WOMEN'S DESTINY?

EVELYN REED, noted Marxist anthropologist, author of *Woman's Evolution*
Donation: \$1

Sat., May 22, 2 p.m.

WOMEN AND THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM

MARGARET MORA, Socialist Workers party candidate for L.A. County Board of Supervisors, Second District

ANA NIETO-GOMEZ, professor in Chicano Studies Dept. at Cal State-Northridge; recently terminated because of her outspoken support for Chicana feminism

ANDREA LUBRANO, East L.A. Young Socialist Alliance organizer, Puerto Rican activist

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Sat., May 22, 4 p.m.

FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM

PATTI IYIYAMA, Socialist Workers party

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All sessions held at 4040 W. Washington Blvd., Suite 11 (at Washington Square Shopping Center), Los Angeles

For more information, call (213) 732-8197

Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee and Young Socialist Alliance
Officers of the committee—chairperson, Patti Iiyama; treasurer, Elizabeth Whittaker

Camejo-Reid: SWP slate for '76

By Steve Clark

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* * *

This is not, of course, how the Democrats and Republicans select their presidential ticket every four years.

But it might as well be. All their candidates fit the bill.

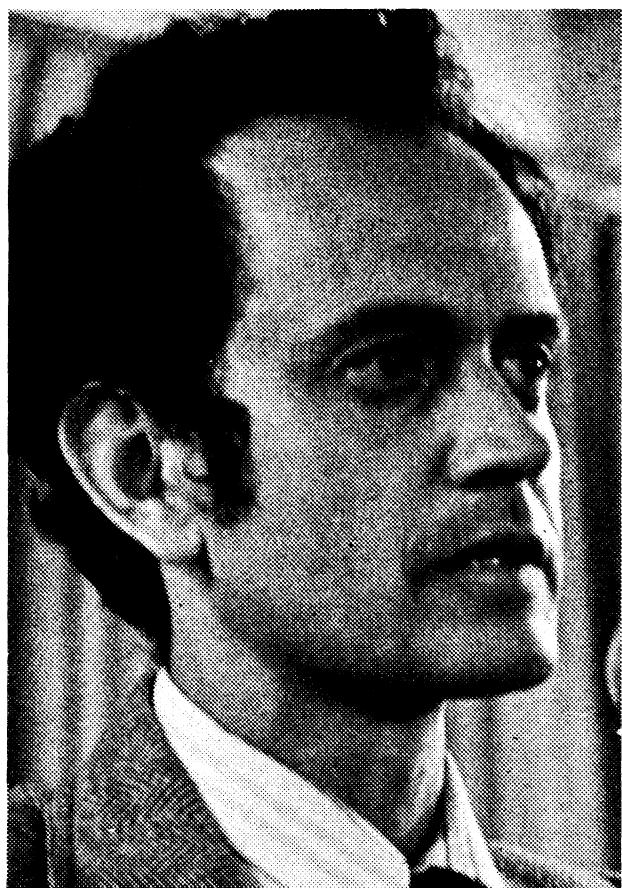
When you strip away the vague promises—and there aren't even too many of those this year—every politician in both big-business parties is telling us the same thing.

"We [they mean us] have been too extravagant, too comfortable. We have to cut back."

"America must spend (choose one): 1) a tiny bit less; 2) about the same; 3) even more—on the defense budget to stay ahead of the Russians."

And so on.

But there are two candidates this year that don't shape up to these "qualifications." They are Peter



PETER CAMEJO

Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, the Socialist Workers party presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

Unlike their Democratic and Republican party opponents, Camejo and Reid are not in politics to advance their own fortunes by serving the needs of the ruling rich. They are working-class candidates running in the interests of the vast majority of the American people—Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and white; women and men; young and old.

Both socialist candidates are veterans of the civil rights movement. Camejo participated in the boycott of Woolworth's in the early 1960s to protest the chain's segregated lunch counters. He marched in the 1965 Selma-to-Montgomery demonstration led by Martin Luther King.

In 1958 Reid joined the "ride-ins" and boycott that ended segregated seating on public transportation in her home town of Memphis, Tennessee.

As a child in the Jim Crow South, Reid spent three months each year picking cotton. She has worked as a hospital and a hotel employee, a garment worker, and a computer programmer.

Camejo is this country's first presidential candidate of Latin American descent. He was born in New York City of Venezuelan parents and is bilingual.

As a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance in the 1960s, Camejo was a prominent figure in the anti-Vietnam War movement in California. Ronald Reagan, governor there at the time, denounced Camejo for being "involved in every large-scale demonstration" in the state.

Willie Mae Reid moved from Tennessee to Chicago. There she was attracted to the ideas of Malcolm X. She participated in the struggle for decent, low-cost housing against Chicago's corrupt city and federal agencies. She was a founder of the Illinois Women's Abortion Action Coalition, a pro-abortion rights group.

In 1975 Reid ran as the SWP candidate for mayor against Chicago's notorious Richard "Boss" Daley.

Since they announced their campaign in December 1974, Camejo and Reid have used their many speaking engagements and media interviews around the country to win support for important social struggles.

They have spoken out in defense of school desegregation and have participated in probusing demonstrations in Boston and other cities.

They have campaigned for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. Both Camejo and Reid will be marching in the May 16 pro-ERA demonstration called by the National Organization for Women.

They helped mobilize opposition to U.S. intervention in Angola; they demand the abolition of this country's \$115 billion war budget.

The SWP's 1976 platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People," outlines Camejo and Reid's socialist alternative to the rulers' "belt tightening" schemes to make working people pay for capitalism's problems. It offers a way to fight back against unemployment, rising prices, higher taxes, and cutbacks in vital public services.

Camejo and Reid don't believe that working

people can solve these problems so long as they hitch their wagons to the Democrats and Republicans. Today's trade-union leaders are wrong when they tell workers to vote for these parties, which speak for the interests of Wall Street bankers and corporations.

The socialist candidates encourage working people to break with the bosses' parties and forge a political party of their own. A labor party, based on the power of a fighting trade-union movement, could defend our rights and living standards in the streets, on the picket line, and at the ballot box as well.

This year, don't vote for the parties that want to hold down our wages; the parties that want to cut back health care, education, and other services; that want to keep women and minorities on the bottom rungs of the job market.

Vote socialist. Vote for Camejo and Reid.

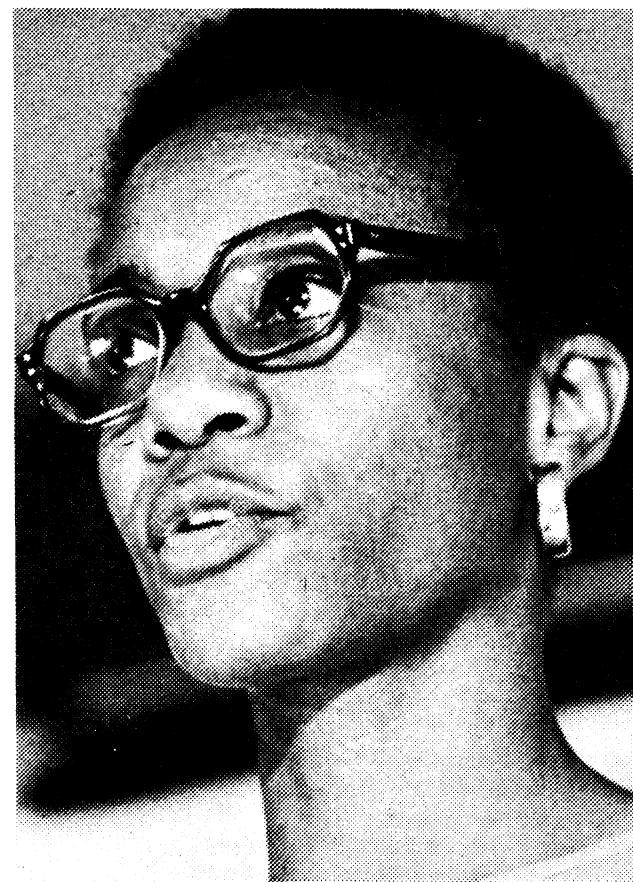
Send me a free copy of the "Bill of Rights for Working People" in English Spanish
 I want to campaign for Camejo and Reid.
 I want to join the Socialist Workers party.
Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Name _____

Address _____ City _____

State _____ Zip _____ Telephone _____

Chairperson, Fred Halstead; Treasurer, Arthur Hughes.



WILLIE MAE REID

Militant/Susan Ellis

Illinois socialist campaigns for ERA ratification

CHICAGO—The Illinois Socialist Workers party chose Linda Thompson as its candidate for governor shortly before the National Organization for Women called the May 16 national



Militant/George Basley
Thompson calls on Democratic and Republican opponents to march May 16.

march in Springfield, Illinois, to demand ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Beginning her campaign with the hope of convincing women activists that such a mobilization was necessary, Thompson eagerly embraced NOW's May 16 demonstration once it was called.

During her Illinois campaign tour, she brought word of the action to many who had not yet heard about it. "The response was always one of support and enthusiasm," Thompson said. The news media consistently focused on portions of her interviews that urged a big turnout May 16.

The *Metro-East Journal*, a Black East St. Louis, Illinois, weekly, ran a quarter-page story on Linda Thompson's campaign. "She said she . . . would use her influence as governor to promote passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. She said Governor Daniel Walker as well as the two candidates, Howlett and James Thompson, have

said they support ERA but have not come up with any plan of action to get it passed."

The article went on to say, "She said *Continued on page 26*

Thompson gets death threat

On Friday, April 30, Linda Thompson received a mailed death threat. The anonymous letter was crudely written.

Thompson has demanded police protection and a full investigation into the death threat. At a May 3 news conference in Springfield, Thompson declared that such incidents "make us more determined than ever to run a campaign that will provide the voters of Illinois with a socialist alternative this November."

Arbitrators to ratify wage cut

Union tops lead S.F. city strike to defeat

By Nat Weinstein

SAN FRANCISCO—An agreement ending the thirty-eight-day-old city crafts workers' strike was reached May 8 between union leaders and the San Francisco Board of Supervisors.

In exchange for the immediate return to work of all strikers and others, such as the Municipal Railway (Muni) drivers, who have been respecting picket lines, the board will remove from the June ballot two propositions, E and K, it placed there at the outset of the strike.

Proposition E would require dismissal proceedings against city employees who strike. Proposition K would put into law the pay cuts whose imposition by the board forced the crafts workers out on strike March 31.

The primary issue of the strike—wages—will be submitted to a fact-finding commission with five members each from labor and the board of supervisors. The eleventh member of the commission, the "impartial tie-breaker," will be Mayor George Mos-

cone.

The choice of the fact-finding commission actually means little, since its recommendations will be submitted to the board of supervisors for a final decision.

The real effect of the agreement therefore amounts to a complete victory for the bosses.

Even so, the labor negotiators found the choice of the eleventh member hard to swallow since it underscores the purely cosmetic character of the board's "concessions" to the unions.

As plumbers union head Joseph Mazzola put it, "Moscone's been seen on the television time and time again saying the supervisors are right and the unions are wrong."

This end to the strike was precipitated a few days earlier when striking laborers union head George Evankovich announced unilateral acceptance of an earlier board of supervisors proposal to end the strike on the same terms agreed to May 8. These terms had previously been rejected by offi-

cials representing all the striking unions.

This blow was followed by a public announcement by Larry Martin, president of the Muni drivers union, Transport Workers Union Local 250-A. He declared that he would recommend to a meeting of his membership that they go back to work if the board agreed to remove Propositions E and K from the June ballot.

Martin said his recommendation meant crossing picket lines if necessary, but he claimed that was unlikely.

There was considerable opposition among the 1,200 Muni drivers at the meeting called to act on Martin's proposal. Despite the exhausting duration of the strike and the relentless media campaign to undermine the morale of Muni drivers, the voice vote was so close that it had to be taken twice.

Even then the TWU leadership, pressing aggressively for the return-to-work proposal, ignored a call for a division of the house to ascertain the

vote. Such a division is mandatory according to the rules of order.

The settlement represents a major setback for all labor in San Francisco. It came about not because the union ranks were defeated in open battle—they were never mobilized in a determined fight to begin with. Rather, the defeat signals the complete bankruptcy of the policy of the top union officials.

After blustering about a general strike before the walkout began, the union officials refused to take even the most elementary steps to organize effective picket lines. And despite repeated threats to escalate the strike, they failed to so much as pull their own members off construction jobs on picketed city property.

The San Francisco labor bureaucracy feared that a real fight would have quickly brought them into head-on conflict with their Democratic party friends. Their class-collaborationist political policy geared them from the outset to accept a major defeat for San Francisco labor.

Gov't trapped on defense of FBI burglars

By Jim Mack

The government of the United States is caught between a rock and a hard place on the issue of whether or not to provide legal defense for three FBI agents who participated in burglaries of Socialist Workers party offices. The three second-story men have been added as defendants in the socialists' suit against the FBI and other government agencies.

If the government decides to defend the three, it will have to argue that the burglaries were legal and proper, even though FBI documents written at the time referred to the break-ins as "clearly illegal." This position would be hard to reconcile with the current stance of the Justice Department, which is trying to take its distance from some of the most outrageous FBI operations.

On the other hand, if the Justice Department decides to throw the three burglars to the wolves, it will face a backlash from thousands of other past and present FBI agents who have committed countless other equally criminal acts—and still do so on a routine basis.

These agents would face the difficult prospect of providing their own lawyers against civil suits for damages brought by victims of FBI crimes. They also fear that a government renunciation of their actions might lead to some criminal prosecutions, a step the Justice Department is reported to be considering.

A decision to abandon the burglars to their own resources would be another blow to the already seriously damaged morale of the nation's G-men. Even worse, from the government's point of view, is the possibility that some of them might decide not to be fall guys for the top FBI officials who ordered the burglaries and other illegal acts.

The Justice Department has not yet made up its mind on defending the men. In legal papers filed in federal court, Justice Department attorneys said, referring to the three burglars, that "at this stage it is unclear whether there is or may be a conflict between the defenses of the United States and the individuals."

John Crewdson, writing in the May 11 *New York Times*, reported that an unnamed Justice Department official "said that he hoped a decision on whether to offer representation to the



KELLEY: Being FBI boss means sometimes having to say you're sorry.

agents . . . would be made by the end of this week."

The three FBI men were added to the socialists' suit following the disclosure of hundreds of pages of documents describing burglaries carried out by

the FBI in New York City from 1960 to 1966. The documents were "sanitized" by the FBI before they were turned over, and the names of the individual burglars were supposed to have been deleted.

However, in an apparent clerical goof, the names of two burglars—George Baxtrum and Arthur Greene—slipped by. The third man is John Malone, who was the assistant director of the FBI in charge of the New York office between 1962 and 1975.

Greene is reported to be currently assigned to the FBI in Westchester County, New York. Baxtrum is stationed in Milwaukee. Malone recently retired from the bureau. All three are being served with summonses.

The dilemma over the burglars' defense compounds the already serious internal problems facing the FBI. FBI agents all over the country are reported to be up in arms over the public "apology" issued recently by FBI boss Clarence Kelley.

"We are truly sorry we were responsible for instances which now are subject to criticism," said Kelley. "We need to make it clearly understood that we recognize errors and have learned from them."

Kelley insisted that "many of the activities being condemned were, considering the times in which they occurred—the violent sixties—good-faith efforts to prevent bloodshed and

wanton destruction of property." Nevertheless, he added, "they were wrong—full uses of power."

Although Attorney General Edward Levi and other Justice Department officials have in the past leveled criticism at some FBI actions, until this speech Kelley had steadfastly defended everything the FBI had done. Referring to the FBI break-ins, Kelley had said that he didn't think they were "a gross misuse of authority."

The level of public reaction against these crimes, however, has now reached the point where even Kelley felt it necessary to make a tactical retreat.

But Kelley's statement, designed to mollify the American people, has had the opposite effect on at least some sections of the FBI. According to *Times* reporter Crewdson: "[One] group of executives at the bureau's headquarters, mainly older men who came to power under Mr. Hoover, reportedly have been resisting such a public renunciation of the bureau's past."

"Things are getting sticky around here," said one FBI source. He added that FBI officials are dividing into "various camps."

How the nation's gumshoes and the "various camps" in the FBI bureaucracy will react if the Justice Department should refuse to provide legal defense for three of their fellows remains to be seen.

A growing casualty list

The list of casualties in the government's camp is growing as the confrontation sharpens over the socialists' suit against government spying and harassment.

Steven Glassman, the junior United States attorney assigned to defend the FBI and other federal agencies, resigned at the beginning of May. Glassman was repeatedly humiliated during the course of the preliminary proceedings in the case, as his statements to the court were rendered "inoperative" by unexpected and widely publicized disclosures of new FBI files.

Glassman had signed the legal papers denying that the FBI had carried out any burglaries against the Socialist Workers party. This statement was proven false when

the FBI was forced to turn over files on ninety-four burglaries.

Following this revelation, one anonymous government attorney—who sounded a lot like Glassman—told the *New York Times* that it was "embarrassing when you have to keep going before a judge and saying, 'Sorry, sir, we just found this.'"

Glassman will enter private practice after a period of recuperation in Miami.

In another personnel change, W. Raymond Wannall, an assistant director in charge of the Intelligence Division of the FBI, took an early retirement at the end of February. Wannall's premature return to private life came shortly after his testimony before the House commit-

tee investigating the FBI. In that testimony, Wannall tried unsuccessfully to defend the FBI's spying against the SWP. Under questioning, Wannall was forced to concede that the FBI had no evidence of any illegal activity by the SWP. He was forced to add that the SWP was "not violent."

Rounding off the casualty list is Hugh Mallet, an FBI agent who was directly involved in defending the FBI against the socialists' lawsuit.

On March 30, the day after newspapers across the country ran front-page stories on the FBI's burglaries against the socialists, Hugh Mallet dropped dead of a heart attack. He was only forty-six years old.

—J.M.

SWP ballot drive

The Socialist Workers party has announced that it will petition to place its presidential ticket and U.S. Senate candidate on the California ballot. This development marks a new stage in the party's effort to offer socialist answers to U.S. voters.

Since 1948 the SWP has run a slate in presidential elections. In recent national elections the party has been on the ballot in more and more states. But California has not been one of them.

For decades the two major parties—loyal servants of the rich and the superrich—have maintained impossibly high ballot requirements in the nation's most populous state.

Now, under pressure of court suits and protests, the California Democrats and Republicans have been forced to lower the requirements—although they remain exceptionally steep.

After careful consideration, the SWP has decided that the mass petitioning drive necessary can be successful. But it will take a tremendous effort.

We urge our readers to answer the call for volunteers to assist this historic drive.

Put the SWP on the California ballot this November.

Zionist land grab

Israel announced plans May 10 to establish at least twelve new settlements, ranging from farming villages to cities, in Arab territories seized during the 1967 Mideast war. Since 1967, Israel has established sixty-eight settlements along the West Bank of the Jordan River and in the Golan Heights, Gaza Strip, and Sinai Peninsula.

On the same day, Tel Aviv announced its decision to move a controversial settlement in the heart of the West Bank to another area of the West Bank "approved by the government." This village, at Kadum, was settled by right-wing Zionists called Gush Emunim (Faith Bloc).

An estimated 20,000 backers of the Kadum squatters staged a march through West Bank territory last month. During Palestinian protests against this provocative invasion, Israeli soldiers shot to death three more Arab citizens, including a six-year-old child.

At least a dozen Arabs have been killed by Zionist authorities since protests against Tel Aviv's policies broke out last January.

The Zionist regime is trying to prettify its crude land grab by claiming that it is evenhandedly reining in the Gush Emunim extremists. The cabinet's latest move, however, unmasks its true intentions: the permanent incorporation of vast new stretches of Arab soil.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin made this crystal clear April 21. "We are strengthening the line of [West Bank] villages that will form the defensive line of the state of Israel," Rabin said. "No settlement was established in order to be evacuated."

Indian victory

As the *Militant* was going to press we learned of the dismissal of firearms and explosives charges against Dennis Banks and three other members of the American Indian Movement in Portland, Oregon.

This case was a political witch-hunt from the word go. Once the trial started, it took the judge all of eighteen minutes to throw it out of court.

This victory was not a gift of the "American system of justice"—if there were real justice in this country, the four would never have been on trial. The dismissal was won through the rallies and demonstrations demanding that charges be dropped, and the glaring light of publicity these protests focused on the case.

The real criminals are the rulers of this country. For years they have carried out a war against Indian activists—and especially against AIM—using frame-ups, Cointelpro-style disruption, and even assassinations. They hate and fear AIM because it symbolizes the struggle of Indian people for human dignity and the right to control their own affairs.

Although this battle has been won, dozens of activists still face charges, including Dennis Banks and his codefendants, and many have already been imprisoned.

The judge's decision exposes what the government is doing. It also shows that the government's drive can be fought and defeated.

Hall 'hung up' on ERA

Last Wednesday, May 5, Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Communist party, spoke on WMCA radio, urging their listeners to vote Communist party in the next election.

After they gave their presentations, they asked listeners to call in and ask questions. I called, and spoke to Gus Hall. Our conversation was on the air. I asked Mr. Hall if the CP would endorse the May 16 Equal Rights Amendment demonstration in Springfield, Illinois.

Mr. Hall hedged, saying something about supporting Title IX and affirmative-action programs that aid the working woman.

When I asked him to explain why he doesn't support the Equal Rights Amendment, he hung up on me!

Kathleen Neese

New York, New York

AIM leader likes 'Militant'

I have a notable quote for the *Militant*.

Vernon Bellecourt, a national leader of the American Indian Movement, spoke at Indiana University on April 26. He was asked if the major media had blacked out FBI harassment and repression of Indian activists and where people could go for information.

Bellecourt replied, "Well, there's one paper doing a pretty good job and that's the *Militant*." Then he held up his copy of the *Militant*. And he added, "Another is *Akwasasne Notes*."

Steve Millen
Bloomington, Indiana

ERA support in Kentucky

On April 24 the Kentucky Pro-ERA Alliance, at a statewide meeting in Louisville, unanimously endorsed the May 16 rally for the Equal Rights Amendment being held in Springfield, Illinois. The alliance also voted to send a banner representing our group.

The alliance has more than sixty member groups, with civil rights, women's, religious, professional, and political groups involved.

In Lexington the University of Kentucky ERA Alliance is organizing a car pool to join supporters in Louisville in the trip to Springfield. Bronson Rozier
Lexington, Kentucky

Labor party debate

On the executive board of our steelworkers local sits an energetic man in his seventies. This person has never worked in any of our shops. Instead, he has a political plum job for the international as a union "rep" for local charity services and spends time lobbying the state legislature.

His role in our local is to try to block every progressive proposal that reaches the floor. He does this with a combination of left-sounding rhetoric and procedural objections. He developed and perfected his approach during the 1950s. It worked rather well until these past two or three years.

At our last meeting his subterfuge suffered a sound defeat around the issue of a labor party. Here's how it developed:

Last year, our local sponsored a resolution to the District 38 conference of the United Steelworkers in Salt Lake City calling for the union to take the steps necessary to initiate a labor party. Our resolution lost but it caused quite a stir. According to *Steel Labor*, the union newspaper, it received close to one-third of the vote.

A similar conference will be held this June, preparatory to the USWA's constitutional convention in September. A motion was introduced in our executive board to reintroduce the labor party resolution at the upcoming district conference.

So our "friend" gets up to state that he's all for the labor party. He would just like to make a couple of little amendments.

First, that the labor party be committed to "upholding the Constitution of the United States of America." Second, that the proposed labor party "support free enterprise."

He argued that this would help get the motion passed by making clear it was not inspired by the Socialist Workers party or some "fascist or communist group."

I won't go into further detail, except to report that the membership—provided with arguments for the labor party from the *Militant* along with some common sense—reversed the recommendation of the executive board by voting 41 to 10 for the pro-labor party resolution without the procapitalist amendments.

So our local will again be able to state a clear and simple demand for independent labor political action at the next district conference.

G.M.
San Francisco, California

'Limited war'?

The April 1976 issue of *Physics Today*, monthly journal of the American Institute of Physics, contained a frightening dialogue—a debate on "civil defense in limited war."

The writers for and against a U.S. civil defense plan dealt with the effects of "limited counterforce strikes" and the costs of "protection" of the population from those effects.

The "pro" writers, A.A. Boyles and E.P. Wigner, wrote glibly of an American population loss of 5 percent to 11 percent (10 to 20 million people) as one of the goals of the plan. They see the plan also as a deterrent to war, a counter to Chinese and Soviet civil defense preparations.

These writers totally ignore the long-term physical effects of radiation (cancer induction and genetic effects) and the societal effects of the disaster.

The "con" writer, S.D. Drell, deals with a few good points—the spread of radioactive fallout; the actual number of casualties; the political impact of public indoctrination in civil defense (making war more "acceptable").

The very printing of this debate, however, is a dangerous sign. The serious consideration of the strategy of nuclear war by the scientific community reflects the seriousness with which the rulers of this country view their preparations for nuclear war.

It is only by removing these weapons from the hands of the capitalist ruling class—not by submitting them to control by enlightened intellectuals in their service—that we can save our species.

Bob Stanton
Camden, New Jersey

Jobs & nuclear plants

At a recent meeting of my union, Boilermakers Local 104, a proposal was made to establish a committee to fight the restrictions environmentalists are placing on the construction of nuclear plants in the state of Washington.

Three or four unionists got up to make impassioned arguments on how

Women in Revolt

"nuclear energy is as safe as the palm of your hand" and "we can't let those environmentalists take away jobs at a time when record numbers of Boilermaker field workers are unemployed."

I had heard similar narrow, antienvironmental arguments before about the Alaska pipeline construction and the question of whether supertankers filled with Alaska oil should have their major terminal built in Puget Sound.

One of those speaking pointed out there was a real "danger" that a ballot initiative restricting nuclear plants might pass in California, giving major impetus to environmentalists in Washington.

Then an older trade unionist who is on the local executive board got up to speak.

"I know what I'm about to say may be about as popular as arguing for chastity at a COYOTE (a much-publicized Seattle prostitutes' union) meeting," he began, "but I don't think we can jump behind the bandwagon of nuclear construction just because it provides jobs."

"After all, it was ironworkers that built the ovens in Nazi Germany—and just because it provided jobs didn't make it right. Nuclear power plants may provide jobs, but what's a few jobs if all of us end up getting incinerated?"

A couple of other speakers then pointed out that environmentalists are not against nuclear power—they just want to make sure that any plants that are constructed are safe.

It was pointed out that when you talk about making sure adequate safeguards are installed, you are talking about more jobs for boilermakers, not less. An analogy was made with the antipollution stacks installed at the Bethlehem steel plant in Seattle—work that was done by boilermakers.

The vote on forming the committee was very, very close. It was made clear that before the committee can do anything, it will have to come back to the membership for discussion and a vote. So there seems certain to be a lot of further debate on this question in our union.

Craig Honts
Seattle, Washington

'Militant' sales coverage

The article in the May 14 *Militant* titled "Boston coverage makes 'Militant' sales easy" by Pat Galligan contained an error based on a mistake in information I had reported on sales in New Jersey.

The story stated that the Black Student Union at William Paterson College in Wayne, New Jersey, "was active in building the April 24 march [for school desegregation] and had sponsored a bus scheduled to go to Boston."

The real situation is that it was the student government at Paterson College that supported the April 24 demonstration and organized a bus to go to Boston.

Tom Bias
Newark, New Jersey

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Cindy Jaquith



FBI vs. feminism

On August 26, 1970, a group of women in Kansas City, Missouri, celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of women's suffrage. On the steps of a downtown department store that prohibited female diners without male escorts, the women set up discussion booths to protest sex discrimination.

What did the women talk about? Let's tune in to the report of the Kansas City FBI office:

"...[name deleted] reportedly stated that the equal rights amendment, which had just passed the U.S. House of Representatives, has opened avenues to true equality of women for the first time in the nation's history. [Name deleted] identified Vietnam and race problems as important issues. She said she favored complete eradication of abortion laws."

This is a sample of the kind of "subversive" feminist activities we are now learning are the target of FBI surveillance. According to this particular report, the groups under the Kansas City FBI's watchful eye included the National Organization for Women (NOW), campus feminist organizations, Young Socialist Alliance, and Students for a Democratic Society.

Not only was this report sent to national FBI headquarters but to military intelligence, naval intelligence, the air force, and the Secret Service!

The Kansas City files and a few other documents on government harassment of the women's movement have been released by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. Some of these files and testimony are reprinted in the May 1-14 issue of *Majority Report* (74 Grove Street, New York, New York 10014). On April 28, one of *Majority Report*'s publishers, Nancy

Borman, joined other opponents of FBI spying at a New York protest meeting sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

There is no justification for the government's attacks on women's liberation activists and the FBI knows it. As Senate committee majority counsel F.A.O. Schwarz stated, the targeted women's groups "wanted equal opportunities that men have in the working society and so forth, nothing to do with violence, nothing to do with these labels of subversion and extremism."

The FBI's excuse, according to the committee report, is that "the activities of women in that Movement might lead to demonstrations and violence."

But the real fear of the U.S. rulers was that the initial awakening of feminist activity in the late 1960s, particularly on the campuses, might spread far beyond the first small women's liberation groups. The capitalists and their agents in the FBI quickly recognized the potential of the feminist struggle to inspire thousands of other women with the idea that we are full human beings and should be treated as such.

J. Edgar Hoover would probably not be too pleased today to see that the ideas of women's liberation have crept into every crack and crevice of our society, despite the attempts of his agents to disrupt and divide the movement.

Women should answer the outrageous revelations of spying in the feminist movement by joining in the demand that the government release all its secret files and halt its illegal attacks on democratic rights.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



SEIU convention

[The following guest column is by Walter Lippmann, a member of Social Services Union Local 535 in Los Angeles. Lippmann was a delegate to the recent convention of the Service Employees International Union.]

The sixteenth national convention of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) met in Honolulu April 19-22. It was a well-orchestrated gathering with few surprises, right down to the unanimous reelection of General President George Hardy to a second four-year term.

Since its 1972 convention, SEIU has grown by 110,000 members, making it the seventh largest affiliate of the AFL-CIO. SEIU organizes primarily in the building service, hospital, health-care, and public service fields.

In response to the economic crisis, with its cutbacks and layoffs of public employees, the SEIU officialdom proposed continued reliance on the Democratic and (occasionally) Republican parties. This perspective was carried despite the recent example of San Francisco Mayor George Moscone, who, after being elected with labor backing, has turned on the unions and played a key role in attacking the San Francisco city workers' strike.

Al Barkan, director of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE), advised the delegates to avoid three "divisive" issues in politics—abortion, busing, and gun control—and to concentrate instead on a unifying issue—"full employment."

The printed report from the International Executive Board had noted: "Unemployment is at depression levels in the United States. . . . Among black workers, unemployment is 50 percent higher than the average. Women also suffer disproportionately. . . .

"Hard-won gains for minorities and women are being wiped out by this specter of joblessness. Layoffs among these groups, who are often newer employees, causes considerable antagonism against our society

and against workers who are able to hold onto their jobs. Equal opportunity is a sham without a job for every worker."

Despite this expression of official concern, there was no discussion from the rostrum or the floor on the issue of discriminatory layoffs. Or busing. Or the possibility of independent labor political action.

On the newly elected thirty-two-member International Executive Board, female representation is up 100 percent—from two to four. Black representation is up from three to six. These extremely modest gains overlap, as two of the women are Black. SEIU's membership is about 30 percent female and 30 percent Black.

The most significant opposition to leadership policies came when 20-25 percent of the delegates, on a voice vote, backed a proposal to remove the anticommunist clause from the SEIU constitution.

For many of the delegates, the convention was a junket—"the payoff," as some referred to it. The union provided an ample supply of food and liquor, and a full day was spent on a cruise to Pearl Harbor.

There was a serious side to the proceedings as well, at least in some committee meetings. Elinor Glenn of SEIU Local 434 in Los Angeles gave one of the most enthusiastically received reports, from the newly created Committee on Women in the Work Force.

Glenn presented three resolutions that had been introduced by the International Executive Board: on women workers, in support of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and in support of the Equal Rights Amendment. Glenn called on SEIU locals to support the May 16 mobilization in Springfield, Illinois, for passage of the ERA.

Glenn's report and the three resolutions were adopted unanimously. The convention also decided to eliminate all sexist references in the union constitution. Convention committees were headed by "chairpersons."

The Great Society

Harry Ring



How sweet it is—H.S. Mohler, board chairman of Hershey's, told an Emory University gathering of businessmen and students that if "free enterprise" is to be saved, they must get deeper into politics. "We must put people in Washington who understand and appreciate our economic system," Mr. Chocolate said.

Digs American way—Ton That An, a South Vietnamese refugee, opened a Vietnamese restaurant in Boston, explaining, "I didn't want to buy food stamps and I didn't want my family to go on welfare." He bought a restaurant for \$130,000, plunking down \$44,000 in cash and borrowing the rest



'Harold feels comfortable with Ford, Wallace, Carter, Udall, Jackson, Reagan...'

from a bank. The former South Vietnamese ambassador to Burma, he said that during his diplomatic years he banked his money in Thailand.

How about police flu?—The National Livestock Board objects to calling the new strain of influenza "swine flu" and suggests "New Jersey flu," where they say it originated. The governor of New Jersey objected, suggesting a rather good alternative, "bicentennial flu."

Theological issue—The president of the school board in Pasadena, California, called for mass prayers that the Supreme Court rule favorably

on its plea to strike down the city's court-ordered busing plan. Our question is this: If, after the prayers, the court upholds the desegregation plan, does that mean there's no further appeal?

How about Hiroshima Day?—McDonnell Douglas, the warplane outfit, gives its employees a paid holiday April 4, the anniversary of the founding of NATO.

Buycentennial dept.—Most likely under the influence of the proper spirit, an Indiana casket maker is offering a red, white, and blue coffin, called "Spirit of '76."

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

Puerto Rican women & the ERA

[Catarino Garza is the Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress from Manhattan's Eighteenth District.]

Whenever I hear an opponent of the Equal Rights Amendment, I shake my head in amazement. These people don't live in the real world.

They have nothing to say about the severe oppression of women in the United States. Instead they rave about the ERA destroying the family, morality, and America's greatest traditions.

According to them, the ERA would "force women off their pedestals."

"Equal rights would be a step down for women, who already have special privileges," they say.

I've even heard some of them claim that the ERA would deny women the "right *not* to have a job."

All this rhetoric is nonsense, of course.

But it becomes even more ridiculous when you take a look at Puerto Rican women in the United States today.

Puerto Rican women don't have much time to worry about their "right" to unemployment. They are worrying about how to feed their children and send them to school in a society that denies so many the elementary right to a decent life.

According to official surveys, the unemployment rate among Puerto Rican women is among the highest of all categories of women. And it's higher than any category of men. In the job market, they face multiple discrimination—as women, as Puerto Ricans, and often as non-English-speaking people.

Puerto Rican women need the ERA.

They share the bottom of the economic and political ladder with Black women and Chicanas in the United States. They work in the lowest-paying, least prestigious, least secure, dirtiest jobs possible.

I do not believe that we could find many women—especially Puerto Rican women—who would see their "pedestal" threatened by a constitutional amendment that would make discrimination on the basis of sex illegal.

The fact is that ratification of the ERA would give women a strong weapon to continue the fight for full equality. And it would be an impetus to those who are also fighting against racial oppression.

Dual pay systems would be abolished. The laws that require harsher prison sentences for women would become illegal. Universities could not set stricter admission standards for women as many do

Catarino Garza



now. Equal opportunity for job advancement would be the law.

The women's liberation movement has developed alongside the Black and Puerto Rican movements in this country. Rather than being singled out for the so-called "special privileges," women of oppressed minorities are singled out for a good many special abuses by the racist U.S. government.

What is done to the bodies of Puerto Rican women is one of the most ghastly examples. One-third of all Puerto Rican women in Puerto Rico have been sterilized; the percentage being sterilized in New York hospitals has risen alarmingly. This has prompted a public outcry and attempts to more closely regulate the procedure to safeguard women who have *not* agreed to the operation. Puerto Rican women were also used experimentally to test possible dangerous side effects of the birth control pill.

Puerto Ricans, Blacks, Chicanos, and whites—men and women—must join together to fight for the ratification of the ERA. A setback for this oppressive system will be a tremendous victory for all women. And a step forward for all working people struggling for a society that is free of oppression.

Their Government

Putting the squeeze on the press

WASHINGTON—Earlier this year, the American public was treated to the revelation that the news we read every day is frequently planted there by the CIA. To maintain its worldwide network of news manipulation, congressional investigators found, the spy agency buys reporters and, when necessary, entire news services.

Then, a couple of months after this disclosure, CBS newscaster Daniel Schorr became a scapegoat for Congress when he passed on a copy of the already leaked House Intelligence Committee report to the *Village Voice*. The dormant House Ethics Committee sprang into action, initiating an investigation that could possibly lead to a loss of congressional press credentials for Schorr. Short of that, the witch-hunt is intended to discourage any other reporters from repeating such a blunder.

Finally, with the publication of the Senate Intelligence Committee's report at the end of April, we learned that the FBI had its own Mass Media Program—administered by the Crime Records Division—to aid in Cointelpro operations.

The two objectives of the program, reported the

Senate committee, were "(1) providing derogatory information to the media intended to generally discredit the activities or ideas of targeted groups or individuals; and (2) disseminating unfavorable articles, news releases, and background information in order to disrupt particular activities." The FBI often used its "press friends," such as "a high official of a major national magazine," to effect these goals.

Cause for alarm for supporters of a free press. Right? Reprehensible government manipulation that should be condemned by all defenders of the First Amendment. Right?

Not according to those who run this country's news industry. They contend that it's reporters who are abusing the First Amendment. To listen to them you'd think the American people don't want to know the truth—that they'd rather keep secret all the government crimes committed against them.

Speaking at the national convention of the American Newspaper Publishers Association in New York recently, Associated Press general

Nancy Cole



manager Wes Gallagher said an "investigative reporting binge" is causing many readers to view the press as "a multivoiced shrew nitpicking through the debris of government decisions for scandals but not solutions."

"It seems to me we need to lower our voices," he continued. "I think we have some time bombs ticking away in our profession which need to be defused."

As for that cornerstone of a free press: "The First Amendment is not a hunting license, as some today seem to think," Gallagher announced.

His comments were echoed later by ANPA Chairman Harold Andersen. "Some newsmen almost joyously cast themselves in the role of an adversary of government officials," he said.

The momentum of situations like Watergate sometimes requires the press to print some pretty unvarnished truth. But the news executives are offering a little reminder to the Daniel Schorrs about who runs this country, and therefore, the country's big news media.

Chicago red squad target of suit

Judge orders release of uncensored cop files

By Elizabeth McNulty

CHICAGO—A federal judge here has ordered the Chicago Police Department's red squad to release more than 20,000 pages of files with no information deleted, including the identities of all informers and undercover agents.

The unprecedented ruling came March 26 in response to motions in a lawsuit filed in November 1974 by the Alliance to End Repression.

U.S. District Court Judge Alfred Kirkland also directed the cops to respond to requests for lists of names of all paid informers and undercover agents.

The suit charges Mayor Richard Daley and his red squad with widespread violations of rights—including illegal intelligence-gathering and dissemination of derogatory information, infiltration and provocation by paid informers, and illegal wiretapping and burglaries.

There are thirty-three groups and individuals as plaintiffs in the action.

They include the Chicago Peace Council, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Socialist Workers party, Women's Inter-



Daley and red squad charged with widespread violations of rights.

national League for Peace and Freedom, Young Socialist Alliance, Young Workers Liberation League, and a number of church groups.

The thousands of pages of files had already been turned over to the alliance, but they were all heavily censored. The police argued that sections of the documents had been removed because they are irrelevant since they don't apply to the plaintiffs, and that there is an "informer's privilege" that protects the identities of the spies.

However, Judge Kirkland also approved the plaintiffs' request to consider the case as a class-action suit. This means the cops must turn over all information in the files, even if it does not pertain directly to the thirty-three plaintiffs.

The judge rejected the "informer's privilege" argument, concluding that it only applies in those cases where the informers were collecting information on unlawful activities. "Defendants have made no allegations that plain-

tiffs were engaging in unlawful activity," Kirkland said.

Alliance attorney Richard Gutman told the *Militant* that the ruling is important "not because of any curiosity people have as to who the informants may be, but because the ruling makes a distinction between surveillance and infiltration aimed at uncovering criminal activities and that directed against groups and individuals engaged in political activity protected under the First Amendment."

The alliance is now fighting a temporary court order forbidding any public disclosure of information in the files. The present order even prohibits the attorneys from discussing the information with the suit's plaintiffs.

Kirkland also directed Mayor Daley to submit to questioning by alliance lawyers, despite his attorneys' objections.

This is the first lawsuit in which Daley has been ordered to give an oral deposition.

NY District 1 leader tours Denver

Fuentes links busing, bilingual education fight

By John Eisenhower

DENVER—Funding of bilingual-bicultural education here will be cut during the 1976-77 school year from its already inadequate level. Last year the city school administration made the ridiculous claim that it could identify only sixty-six students in need of such a program—this in a city of tens of thousands of Chicanos.

This slap in the face of *la raza* comes on the heels of the school authorities' acceptance of one of the most comprehensive desegregation plans in the country. Their aim is to pit Blacks and Chicanos against each other using the age-old strategy of divide and conquer.

This racist maneuver was exposed during a speaking tour here last month by Puerto Rican educator Luis Fuentes. Fuentes is the former school superintendent in New York City's District One, located in a predominantly Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese community.

Fuentes pointed out that the racists will complain that there is "only enough money for either busing or bilingual education," not both.

"We must not be fooled by this ploy," he cautioned the nearly 100 community activists, students, and parents who heard him at Del Pueblo Elementary School April 29.

"There is enough money to implement all the programs that are necessary for the improvement of minority education," he told the largely Chicano audience.

Colorado is currently operating on a budget surplus of \$40 million.

The meeting at Del Pueblo school was cosponsored by the Student Coalition Against Racism and the Concerned Citizens for Equal Education. CCEE leader Everett Chavez also spoke at the meeting.

At every stop during his Denver tour, Fuentes explained how he thought the fight for bilingual-bicultural education can be won. "I believe that what is

necessary is a national day of demonstrations in every city where every parent and child of Hispanic . . . background would boycott school and come together in a demonstration for bilingual education."

With that kind of determination, he said, "the government would have to judge us by our numbers and yield to our demand for full federal funding."

During his tour, Fuentes spoke to nearly 500 people. Lengthy articles about his views on bilingual-bicultural education were carried by both Denver dailies, the *Rocky Mountain News* and the *Post*.

CCNY students strike against budget cuts

By Candace Wagner

NEW YORK—Students at City College of New York staged a two-day strike against budget cuts May 5 and 6.

About 85 percent of the 20,000 students boycotted classes with the support of most faculty members, bringing the normal activity of the campus to a halt. More than 2,500 students participated in rallies, workshops, and marches held during the two-day stoppage.

One march of 1,000 went through Harlem, adjacent to the college, appealing for Black community support.

The strike, initiated by an anticuts group called The Committee, gained momentum with the announcement of a CCNY "retrenchment report" the previous week. This program includes drastic cuts in the history, language, English, and physical education departments.

The dean of the humanities department protested that "this retrenchment plan, in 1976, is profoundly affected by what has come to be called the 'urban educational model.' That model, it now becomes painfully clear, is fundamentally vocational."

Another reason for the success of the strike was the support of the faculty. In danger of losing their jobs during this rash of cuts, many encouraged their students to participate.

Thirteen Black professors in the English department staged a three-day

hunger strike to protest the "resegregation" of the city university system being brought about by the cutbacks. On May 6 the faculty senate voted to condemn the president's retrenchment plan.

The cutbacks at City College are only a part of a broader program being carried out by the board of higher education, which runs the twenty-

campus City University of New York system.

At the beginning of April, the board approved a plan that would close Hostos Community College, the only bilingual college in the Eastern United States. The proposal also called for ending open admissions and reducing predominantly Black Medgar Evers College to a two-year institution.

The strike at City College demanded that *all* cuts in CUNY be rescinded. A motion to organize a City College contingent for the "Save Hostos" demonstration held May 10 was passed overwhelmingly by the Future Militant Actions Workshop, one of the committees set up to involve students in anticuts activity during the strike.



More than 2,500 students participated in rallies, workshops, and marches during two-day strike

Racist Boston construction-trades unions oppose job equality for minority workers

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—Nearly 2,000 white building-trades workers, whipped into a frenzy by racist union leaders, stormed into Boston City Hall May 7. They demanded that Mayor Kevin White move against Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese workers who have held protests here for more jobs on local construction sites.

The white unionists were mobilized on a few hours' notice, after 150 racist workers had forced a halt to negotiations between the Barletta Construction Company and the Third World Workers Association (TWWA). Among the 150 were 75 maroon-jacketed, bat-wielding goons from the South Boston Marshals Association, an antibusing vigilante group that patrols the all-white neighborhood to "keep Blacks out."

The TWWA has been fighting to win 50 percent hiring of Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese construction workers in the communities where they live, and 30 percent hiring on a city-wide basis.

The key tactic of the TWWA has been to picket contractors at job sites. They have succeeded in closing down some job sites, forcing the contractors to negotiate.

On May 6, a construction site in the South End, a majority Black and Puerto Rican area, was closed at the request of the main contractor at the site, the Barletta Construction Company. Negotiations with the TWWA were scheduled for the next day.

When members and representatives of the TWWA arrived at the site, five Boston police cars and twenty white workers, not employees on the job, were already there.

As the negotiations began, two white representatives of the building-trades council interrupted the meeting. They were asked to leave.

Hooligan tactics

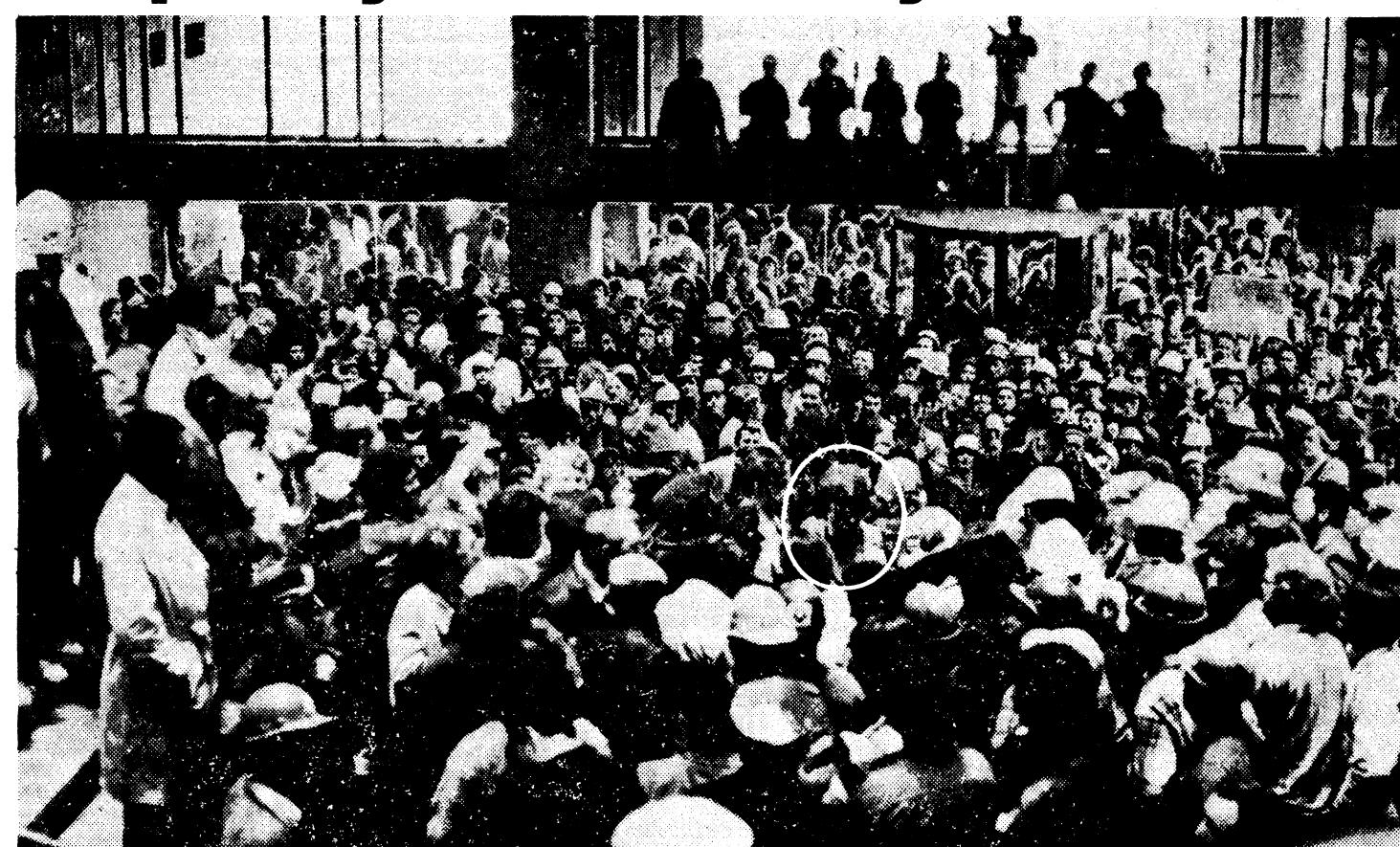
As the meeting was drawing to an end, the two racist bureaucrats returned with ten more union officials. They rushed into the meeting, screaming obscenities, and jumped the TWWA negotiators.

Police then moved in to break up the fight, under the gaze of the seventy-five South Boston Marshals, who were also present by this time. South Boston antibusing leader James Kelly, who was on the scene, said the marshals were there "as unionists."

The tops of Boston's white construction-trades job trust spread the word fast. Hundreds of anti-Black unionists poured from their jobs and massed at city hall.

It was a mob that even antibusing city council member Christopher Ianella described as "the most tense and menacing confrontation" he could remember.

The racist hard hats jammed the lobby, shouting for Mayor White. They were greeted by antibusing leader and Boston City Council President Louise Day Hicks, who invited them into the council chambers.



White construction-trades unionists listening to antibusing leader and city council President Louise Day Hicks (circled) during May 7 protest. Hicks blasted Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese workers who she said 'want nothing but chaos.'

The central demand of the workers was made by William Cleary, president of the Association of Building Trades Unions. Cleary is a frequent speaker at antibusing rallies.

He demanded "protection" of the whites from alleged "harassment and vandalism" carried out by the TWWA. Cleary claimed that \$217,000 in city funds supports the TWWA's efforts.

In a May 8 statement, the TWWA welcomed an investigation of such charges. The funds referred to by Cleary are earmarked under a federal grant for the Third World Jobs Clearing House. Minority workers are attempting to make the clearinghouse a hiring hall for Black, Latino, and Chinese construction workers.

Hicks blasted "these Third World people who want nothing but chaos."

As Mayor White entered the chambers, he was loudly booed and hissed. Unable to yell more than a few sentences, the mayor was escorted from the chambers by local union business agents.

White promised beefed-up police presence for the white workers and pledged to withdraw any city funds being "misused."

Job equality

The prominence of antibusing big shots and South Boston Marshals in this underscores the sharpening tension in Boston.

For years, this city's Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chinese have been fighting for job equality. Three years ago a quota system of 30 percent jobs for minority workers in their own communities and 10 percent hiring elsewhere was won.

Today such modest gains, under the blows of depression in the construction industry, have been eroded.

While white workers rallied on May 7 to place the burden of layoffs on minority workers, representatives of the TWWA explained their views at a news conference held at the Harriet Tubman House. "We want our fair share," TWWA spokesperson Harvard Stephens told the media.

"We want our fair share of jobs and training. There is a recession going on, there is unemployment. And we aren't going to be pushed to the bottom. Everything has to be shared."

Current quotas are not being enforced, Stephens said. The reason for an increase in the quotas, he explained, is "the extensive damage that racist policies have brought about in our communities."

"We are not out for the jobs of white workers. We are not against them," he said. "It is a matter of justice and equality. We are not out to fight; we are out to work."

"Racism is being whipped up. They're trying to divide the white workers from us."

Stephens noted that the reaction to the TWWA from groups like the South Boston Marshals "shows the severity of the problem. The racism and extremism that have met us are the same kind of response that other community demands have faced."

Michael Kane, white administrator of the South End Project Area Committee, announced the unanimous support for the TWWA demands from his organization's community task force. "We are a multiracial community. We will not tolerate the intrusion of organized racist violence into it," Kane

said, referring to the South Boston Marshals.

The link between the fight for job equality and the struggle for school desegregation couldn't be clearer.

The alliance of antibusing bigots and racist union misleaders cripples the power of Boston's labor movement. It makes the unions appear as enemies of minority communities. It deepens divisions among working people, gladening each and every member of Boston's ruling rich.

The capitalists like nothing better than willing racist servants in the unions to take the heat off *them* by pinning the blame for economic misery on those workers who suffer the most.

On May 10, nearly 100 members and supporters of the TWWA picketed the Roxbury construction site of the new Madison Park High School. The marshals weren't there, but fifty tactical patrol cops and a dozen mounted police were.

Not intimidated, the Black, Latino, and Asian workers vowed to come back every morning until they have won.

This spring's protests, according to TWWA leader Chuck Turner, have resulted in a modest but important increase in hiring above the quotas initially set by the city.

But the racist officialdom of the building trades is digging in for a fight. They are backed to the hilt by the city's antibusing movement.

Their boldness should not be underestimated. William Cleary spoke to the point in the May 10 Boston *Herald-American*. "If they touch any of our men reporting for work," the racist union hack said, "there'll be blood on the streets."

the motion "untimely," the judge said the agreement worked out with the Concerned Parents was adequate.

The NAACP has appealed the rejection of its motion to intervene, stating that the national experience has already shown the inadequacy of magnet schools for the purpose of desegregation.

"The experience of other courts with magnet school concepts," the NAACP's appeal says, "indicates that they have limited value, if any, only in the context of an adjunct to a total desegregation plan."

St. Louis NAACP files busing suit

By David Welters

ST. LOUIS—The local chapter of the NAACP is challenging a compromise settlement in a school desegregation suit here.

About 70 percent of the students in the St. Louis schools are Black. Ninety-seven percent of these Black students attend schools that are more than 90 percent Black.

In 1971 an organization of Black parents called Concerned Parents filed suit to desegregate the schools. A compromise settlement was recently reached that would avoid the use of busing.

The plan would do little to desegregate the schools. It centers on the establishment of five "magnet" elementary schools and two specialized high schools. Fully implemented, it would involve only 4,500 of the 88,000 students in the school system.

Last January the NAACP filed a motion to intervene in the suit, calling for "total faculty and pupil desegregation effective with the start of the September school term"—using massive busing where necessary.

U.S. District Court Judge James Meredith denied the motion. Calling

Boston judge forbids early school closing

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—Emboldened Black rights in this city appear to have weathered another storm—at least temporarily.

On May 10 Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity ordered Mayor Kevin White to take "all actions necessary" to find funds to avert the month-early closing of schools sought by the antibusing city administration.

White, supported by an array of racist elected officials, has mounted a highly publicized campaign to lay the blame for Boston's financial woes on the "cost of busing."

The \$154 million school department budget will be exhausted as of May 16. White contends that city financial resources cannot sustain the additional \$20 million required to keep the schools open until June 22, the scheduled closing day.

At the root of White's fiscal fear campaign is his determination to sabotage court-ordered desegregation.

In the May 10 ruling, Garrity found ample means for the city to raise necessary funds. He said White was "obliged by state and federal law" to keep the schools open.

The judge's rebuke of White's antibusing maneuver was preceded on May 6 by a dramatic courtroom confrontation between Garrity and the mayor.

The showdown featured an angry Garrity chiding White for a speech in Cleveland and a mailing to Boston taxpayers that labeled the desegregation order as the cause for city tax hikes.

Terming the effect of an early school closing "catastrophic," Garrity said that such a move would "grievously jeopardize" desegregation.

"If there is a conflict between the constitutional rights of children and fiscal considerations, federal constitutional rights must prevail," Garrity said. "Fiscal considerations must yield. That is the law of the land."

It is, in fact, the law of the land that forbids segregation and that is the basis of Judge Garrity's 1974 desegregation order. Mayor White is currently appealing that order to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Garrity's challenges to White's "facts" about city finances have opened a Pandora's box of contradictory figures—millions of dollars apart—on what deficits really exist. Despite such discrepancies, city budget director

How HS bigots plotted a setup

BOSTON—Last week's *Militant* reported on a brawl involving several hundred Black and white students at Hyde Park High School.

A phony bomb threat had emptied the school early in the day. As Black students evacuated the building, they were surrounded by rock-throwing white students, leading to the fight.

A report on the incident in the May 6 *Bay State Banner*, a Black weekly here, provides some insight into how the racists deliberately provoke such incidents.

Black students who met with Boston school Supt. Marion Fahey several hours after the fight told her of rumors they had overheard the previous day about the planned false alarm.

As two long cordons of white students entrapped the Black students coming out of the school, groups of whites headed for bushes and hedges where piles of stones had apparently been stashed.

In other words, the Black students had been set up. —J.H.



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson
New wave of militant struggles is needed to defend and extend Black rights.

Richard Wall predicted there would be "no alternative" to a ten-dollar property tax increase.

The bigots here are not taking Garrity's ruling lying down. Boston City Council President Louise Day Hicks, the central leader of the eleven-year campaign to deny desegregated education to Black students, called an executive session of that body to "discuss the implications of the order."

In a crude ploy to heat up her anti-Black constituency, Hicks predicted cutbacks in the police and fire departments.

The united opposition of the city government to desegregation puts both it and the antibusing movement on which it is based into a deepening confrontation with Garrity's court.

Sensing the explosive nature of such a collision course, both the Boston *Globe* and *Herald-American* editorially opposed an early school closing. Their reason, as the *Herald-American* frankly put it, was to avoid a premature "long, hot summer."

Although Judge Garrity has rebuffed Mayor White's latest challenge to busing, his May 3 order for the opening of schools next fall was flawed by serious retreats from his original 1974 ruling.

All-white East Boston High School was exempted from desegregation for a year. Nearly 2,000 illegal transfers by white students—arranged to evade busing—were left untouched. Entrance requirements for the city's three "accelerated" high schools were stiffened, a modification that reinforces strict "academic segregation." And newly constructed West Roxbury High School, located in an all-white area, was made a neighborhood school, instead of a modestly desegregated "magnet school."

Whatever Judge Garrity's intentions, he is clearly subject to powerful social forces here. The racist movement—through demonstrations, elected officials, court appeals, and random street violence—is mobilized to smash Black rights, starting with school desegregation.

The legacy of the militant protests of the civil rights movement, and the potential for a new wave of struggles to defend and extend Black rights, is a much needed counterbalance to the bigots.

Whether that potential can be turned into a united, fighting, and independent probusing movement is the central factor that will determine the outcome here in Boston.

South Africa: Black protests on the rise

By Ernest Harsch

From Intercontinental Press

Faced with new signs of unrest among South Africa's more than twenty million Blacks, the racist Vorster regime is stepping up its repressive actions.

Since March, more than fifty Black activists have been arrested, most of them under the Terrorism Act, in connection with an alleged guerrilla network that has supposedly been operating in South Africa for six years. Many were former members of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC).

Besides those charged with guerrilla activities, many other former members of the ANC and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (which is linked to the ANC), as well as a number of young Blacks and whites, have been detained. Some have been charged with carrying out activities of the ANC and the South African Communist party.

Jarus Kogong, a former leader of the South African Students Organisation (SASO), was arrested by security police in Johannesburg in late March. Sixteen other leaders of the SASO and the Black People's Convention (BPC) are currently facing trial under the Terrorism Act. The only "evidence" being brought against them are their writings and speeches denouncing the apartheid system.

According to the March 29 issue of the American weekly *Africa News*, Kogong was arrested immediately after giving testimony in the trial of seven of the young Black activists. Kogong told the judge that he was tortured and forced to sign a false statement under threat of death from the security police.

More repressive laws

The apartheid regime already has a large array of repressive laws that it can use against political dissidents, including the Suppression of Communism Act, the Terrorism Act, the Sabotage Act, the Riotous Assemblies Act, the Criminal Procedures Act, the Unlawful Organisations Act, and the Defence Act. But Vorster apparently considers these insufficient.

In February, Vorster proposed the establishment of a Parliamentary Internal Security Commission (Priscom), which is to investigate cases brought before it by the government. The purposes of the Priscom investigations will remain secret and witnesses will not be allowed to have lawyers. Refusal to testify is to be punishable by renewable six-month jail terms.

On May 4, the regime introduced another new bill, the Promotion of State Security Bill. Under it anyone suspected of "endangering state security or the maintenance of public order" could be detained without trial, bail, or legal counsel for up to a year. Publications could also be banned under the proposed law.

Moreover, the jurisdiction of the bill would include Namibia, foreshadowing a possible banning of the South-West African People's Organisation, which is fighting for Namibia's independence from Pretoria.

The stepped-up repression in South Africa comes at a time when the Black masses are showing signs of greater unrest. Pretoria's setback in Angola and the rising class struggle in the rest of southern Africa have been an inspiration to them.

One indication of the increased militancy among Blacks was a March 14 rally in Soweto, the all-Black township outside Johannesburg inhabited by a million persons. Drawing a crowd of 16,000, it was organized by the Inkatha yeNkululeko yeSizwe (National Cultural Liberation Movement) and addressed by Chief Gatsha

Buthelezi of the Zulus.

Buthelezi had previously supported the government's "separate development" program of granting "independence" to the various Black Bantustans scattered throughout South Africa. But at the rally he denounced the program, stating, "Those who are attempting to divide the land of our birth are attempting to stem the tide of history. . . .

"The majority of black people do not want to abandon their birthright. They have toiled for generations to create the wealth of South Africa. They intend to participate in the wealth of the land."

Buthelezi said that instead the entire country "must move towards majority rule."

New mood

He also noted that "a new mood is emerging. The events in Mozambique and Angola and similar impending events in Zimbabwe [Rhodesia] and Namibia have brought a new sense of National awareness into the hearts and minds of South Africa's Blacks."

Buthelezi called for the convening of a series of "Black National Conventions" beginning in August to discuss questions relating to the regime's economic, Bantustan, and foreign policies.

Within several days of the Soweto rally, a protest was staged in Johannesburg against the trial of the SASO and BPC leaders. According to the May issue of the London monthly *Africa* magazine, the protest "developed into a four-hour battle with police and a White mob when Black workers going to catch trains after work joined the demonstration outside a Johannesburg station, swelling the crowd to at least 2,000."

On March 21, several thousand persons attended a memorial service in Soweto to commemorate the sixteenth anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, in which sixty-nine Blacks were gunned down by police in 1960 after staging an anti-pass-law demonstration. The crowd heard militant speeches and sang freedom songs that have been banned by the regime.

A week later, on March 28, several hundred Black workers rallied outside the Heinemann electric factory in Germiston to protest the firing of the company's entire Black work force after they had demanded that the bosses recognize their Metal and Allied Workers Union. Although Black unions are not illegal in South Africa, they are not recognized and cannot negotiate Black workers' demands.

Police with dogs attacked the protesting workers, clubbing many of them. At least three Blacks were seriously injured, and Gavin Andersson, the white-general secretary of the Metal and Allied Workers Union, was arrested.

In an article on the South African economy in the April 12 *Christian Science Monitor*, Humphrey Tyler pointed to "the possibility of unrest among black workers whose lower wages are likely to become increasingly inadequate in the face of all-round rising prices. . . . Already there have been two or three small wildcat strikes by black workers in Johannesburg."

The Hidden History
of Washington's War

Angola

by Ernest Harsch and Tony Thomas
160 pp., cloth \$9, paper \$2.45
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410
West St., New York, N.Y. 10014

CHURCH COMMITTEE REPORT

FORTY YEARS OF GOV'T ATTACKS ON DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

By Larry Seigle

What is it going to take to put an end to the massive, continuing violations of democratic rights by the FBI and the CIA? This question is posed by the publication of the final reports and recommendations of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, headed by Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho).

The Church committee's reports establish one fact beyond question: government officials at all levels—in Congress as well as the White House, Democrats as well as Republicans—decided on, implemented, and covered up illegal operations on a vast scale.

"We cannot dismiss what we have found," the committee concluded, "as isolated acts which were limited in time and confined to a few willful men. The failures to obey the law . . . have occurred repeatedly throughout administrations of both political parties going back four decades."

But in the face of this compelling indictment the committee's recommendations revolve around setting up still another committee in Congress to exercise "oversight" over the FBI and CIA. Other proposals call for more laws to prohibit some activities (which are flagrantly illegal and unconstitutional already).

In order to believe that these proposals would protect democratic rights, you have to ignore the staggering weight of the committee's own findings. The report shows that the Democrats and Republicans who control Congress and the executive branch have approved and encouraged these illegal activities from the very beginning. Those who are supposedly the top law enforcers have been the top law breakers.

End of Watergate?

The publication of the Church committee report marks an important stage in the process that began under Nixon and ultimately led to his downfall.

In August 1974, when the capitalist rulers of this country finally told Nixon in blunt language to pack his bags, they hoped that they could bring an end to the Watergate era of disclosures of government crimes and lies.

They knew that with the discredited and hated president in the White House there could be no stopping the revelations of government violations of the rights of the American people and undercover reactionary plots against other countries.

Above all, the ruling class, and the politicians of the two parties through which they administer the government, wanted to convince the working people of this country that the problem was Nixon. What he had done was the exception, not the rule. All that was needed to end Watergate was to get rid of Nixon.

In selling this lie, the ruling class relied on the fact that the American workers have not yet begun to look at politics in class terms. They have no mass political organization of their own, no political party independent of big business. This allows politicians who represent the interests of the capitalist class to masquerade as "friends of labor."

The fact that only the capitalist class is organized on the political field enables it to portray politics as a question of individual characteristics that make a "good" or a "bad" politician. Most working people still fall for this view—rather than seeing politicians and parties for what they really are: expressions of class interests.

The decline in the confidence of the American people in the two capitalist parties, which helped set the stage for Watergate and was in turn fueled by it, has not yet been translated into independent working-class political action. There is no labor party based on the organized strength of the working class, their unions. Nor is there yet any

mass Black political party.

The rulers took advantage of this political backwardness to focus the outrage generated by the Watergate revelations on Nixon as an individual. And when he was safely out of the White House, the capitalists undertook a campaign to end the revelations and restore confidence in government and in the two capitalist parties. "My fellow Americans," declared Ford, "our long national nightmare is finished."

For good measure, Congress enacted a "reform" law supposedly designed to clean up political campaigns and "prevent another Watergate." Actually, all that this "reform" did was erect substantial new barriers in the way of independent working-class electoral action. It also took another step toward enforcing the political monopoly held by the Democrats and Republicans by providing federal campaign subsidies only to those two parties.

'Nightmare' wouldn't end

But what the capitalist class hoped would be the end of the revelations of government crimes turned out to be only the beginning of a new and more important stage of this process.

No sooner had Ford taken office than a news

"The report shows that the Democrats and Republicans who control Congress and the executive branch have approved and encouraged these illegal activities from the very beginning. Those who are supposedly the top law enforcers have been the top law breakers."

story broke proving that the CIA had spent more than \$8 million to overthrow the elected regime of Salvador Allende in Chile. The government had until then denied that the United States had anything at all to do with bringing to power the bloodthirsty Pinochet regime. Kissinger himself had declared in sworn testimony: "The CIA had nothing to do with the coup, to the best of my knowledge and belief. . . ."

Watergate just wouldn't end.

The CIA revelations on Chile were followed by new reports on secret conspiracies to murder foreign leaders, and plots to overthrow governments that failed to meet the criteria laid down by Washington.

At the same time, there were continuing disclosures about FBI and CIA domestic spying and harassment on a giant scale. The American people learned that the "surreptitious entry" by Nixon's squad of plumbers was only one incident—and none too unusual at that—in a pattern going back to before World War II. In fact, it soon became clear that the plumbers were only a small auxiliary force to the main army of burglars, spies, terrorists, and gangsters in the service of the ruling class.

Government crimes and lies have continued to come to light through investigative reports by working journalists, through congressional investigations, and through legal initiatives such as the suit filed by the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

These disclosures, in fact, have expanded into a permanent feature of political life in this country. They now extend from the level of baring illegal spy

files kept by local police red squads in cities like Houston, Chicago, and Portland, Oregon, to uncovering the worldwide corruption of huge corporations like Lockheed.

Mass consciousness-raising

Through these revelations the American working people have gotten an education in the true methods, values, and goals of the capitalist government. It has been a mass consciousness-raising about who are the real enemies of democratic liberties.

The Church committee report compiles these facts, and adds some new ones not previously known to the public. It is a devastating refutation of the line that Watergate represented the aberration of one man who somehow got to be president. The record refutes equally strongly the idea that the problem with the CIA and the FBI is that they have gotten "out of control."

Some examples will illustrate the point.

- In 1965 and 1966 Missouri Sen. Edward Long headed a subcommittee investigation into charges of illegal government surveillance. When the FBI became worried that the investigation might uncover the FBI's program of opening first-class mail, J. Edgar Hoover contacted the head of the Senate Judiciary Committee with instructions to get Long to limit sharply questions to be asked post office officials.

- A few months later, when Long's subcommittee began an inquiry into bugging and wiretapping, FBI officials talked Long out of pursuing such an investigation. The senator even had FBI agents ghostwrite a press release for him, in which he falsely stated that his subcommittee had "conducted exhaustive research into the activities, procedures, and techniques of this agency [and] based upon careful study . . . we are fully satisfied that the FBI has not participated in highhanded or uncontrolled usage of wiretaps, microphones, or other electronic equipment."

Government officials in the dark?

The committee report also shoots holes through the justification that the FBI has gone unchecked because top government officials have been unaware of what was going on. The report concludes that "government officials—including those whose principal duty is to enforce the law—have violated or ignored the law over long periods of time and have advocated and defended their right to break the law."

- An example: In 1940, President Roosevelt authorized the FBI to install wiretaps on "persons suspected of subversive activities." The order was in flat violation of the Federal Communications Act of 1934, which outlawed wiretaps. Illegal? No.

Roosevelt's attorney general merely reinterpreted the law. "Since the Act made it unlawful to 'intercept and divulge' communications, Attorney General [Robert] Jackson contended that it did not apply if there was no divulgence outside the Government." (Committee's emphasis.)

Jackson informed Congress of his "interpretation" of the law. Not one member of that august body raised a protest.

In fact, in that same year (1940) Congress did its own part for "national security" by enacting two pieces of thought-control legislation: the Smith Act, which outlaws certain ideas, and the Voorhis Act, which requires "subversive" organizations belonging to international organizations to turn over membership lists and details on their internal functioning to the government.

40-year bipartisan policy

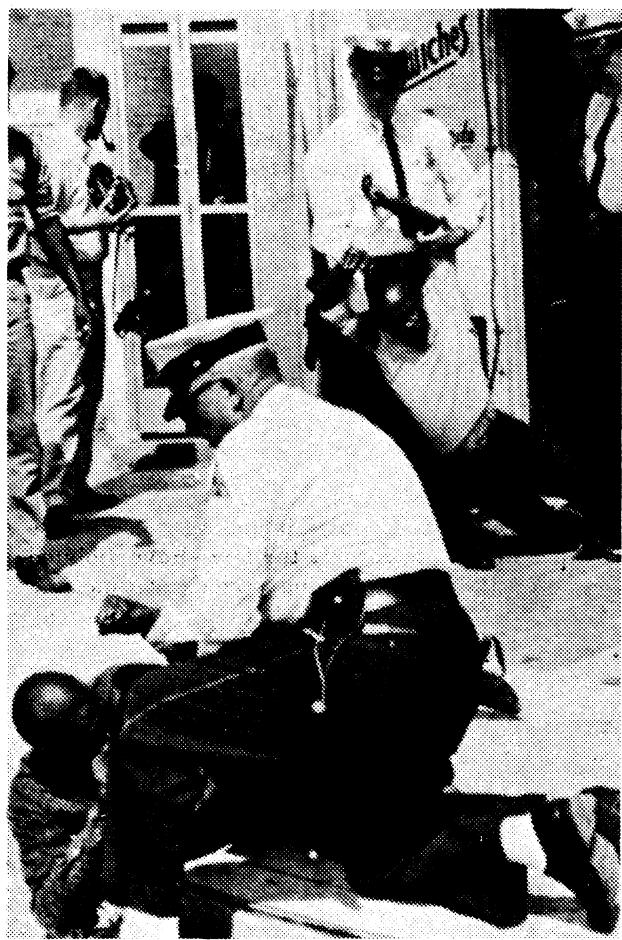
The report proves that the criminal activities of the FBI and CIA followed a bipartisan policy going back to the Roosevelt administration: "Each administration from Franklin D. Roosevelt's to Richard Nixon's permitted, and sometimes encouraged, government agencies to handle essentially political intelligence."

- As the United States prepared to enter World War II, Roosevelt moved to suppress any possible antiwar opposition.

In fact, he set up the original "Enemies List" by turning over to the FBI telegrams sent to the White House that expressed antiwar views.

- In 1946, Attorney General Tom Clark, a Democrat, asked President Truman to renew the authorization for warrantless wiretapping issued by Roosevelt on the eve of the war. Clark cited the threat of "subversive activity here at home." Truman complied.

- Twenty-one years later, in the wake of the Black uprisings that shook Newark and Detroit in the summer of 1967, Tom Clark's son Ramsey, then Lyndon Johnson's attorney general, followed in his father's footsteps. He ordered the FBI to "use the



Militant/Howard Petrick

TOP: Auto workers stage sit-down strike in Flint, Michigan, 1937. CENTER: Cops attack civil rights demonstrators in Cambridge, Maryland, 1964. BOTTOM: Unionists turn out for antiwar march in New York City, May 1970. For forty years, secret-police operations have been aimed at disrupting and defeating struggles by the working class, oppressed minorities, and every movement for social justice.

maximum resources, investigative and intelligence, and to collect and report all facts bearing upon the question as to whether there has been or is a scheme or conspiracy by any group . . . to plan, promote or aggravate riot activity." Clark directed that FBI "sources or informants in black nationalist organizations . . . should be developed and expanded."

- Even the disruption programs, now known as Cointelpro, which supposedly ran only from 1956 to 1971, actually continued policies set into motion under the Democratic administration of Roosevelt. William C. Sullivan, former head of the FBI Intelligence Division, told the committee: "We were engaged in COINTELPRO tactics, to divide, confuse, weaken, in diverse ways, an organization. We were engaged in that when I entered the Bureau in 1941."

Target: working-class organizations

The record shows that these secret-police operations were aimed at the mass organizations of labor—the unions—and the major Black groups, including the NAACP, the Nation of Islam, and the movement led by Martin Luther King.

Although radical groups such as the Socialist Workers party, the Communist party, and the Black Panthers were given special treatment, every working-class organization has been the victim of government spying and disruption.

- By 1938, on Roosevelt's orders, the FBI was investigating "subversives" in unions in the maritime, steel, mining, auto, clothing, and newspaper industries. In 1940, Roosevelt had a wiretap on John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers and founder of the CIO.

- During the Eisenhower years, the FBI provided the president with advance texts of speeches by union leaders. In 1956, the FBI circulated details of private meetings involving the NAACP. That same year, the FBI compiled reports on the role of United Auto Workers members at an NAACP conference.

- By 1970, the FBI set out to determine the "background, aims and purposes, leaders and Key Activists" of every Black student organization in the country, "regardless of past or present involvement in disorders." Two years later, the FBI had more than 7,000 informers in Black communities across the country.

- When the women's liberation movement began, FBI agents undertook "intensive reporting on the identities and opinions of women" attending meetings. One informer's report to FBI headquarters noted that "each woman at this meeting stated why she had come to the meeting and how she felt oppressed, sexually or otherwise."

These operations are aimed at disrupting and defeating struggles by the working class, the oppressed minorities, and women. Similarly, on a world scale, the covert operations, secret wars, and CIA coups are aimed at preventing the masses from taking control of their own destinies, and blocking any steps toward overturning capitalism and replacing it with a social order based on the interests of the oppressed and exploited.

Mission: protect profits

Far from existing to protect our liberties and well-being, the U.S. government exists to protect the profits of the tiny group of bankers and industrialists who control the wealth and the real positions of power. This handful—headed by families like the Rockefellers, DuPonts, Fords, and Mellons—is the American capitalist class.

The government, which serves the dominant class, is essentially a body of repressive institutions backed up by a vast military power. The celebrated system of "checks and balances" between the three branches of this government—just like the "competition" between the two parties—is nothing more than a division of labor set up to mask this class rule.

That is why the proposals for adjusting the machinery of the capitalist government, such as those presented by the Church committee and other capitalist reformers, are a fraud. The FBI and the CIA are and always have been accountable to the ruling class and to the Democratic and Republican parties.

The Church committee report proposes expanding access by members of Congress to secret-police files. But the report doesn't have a word to say about the *right of the American people* to know the truth about government crimes. This right is in direct contradiction to the need of the ruling class to conceal its real methods and goals. That's why the growing demand to open to the public the secret files of the FBI and the CIA cuts so deep.

Rather than relying on Congress, or the attorney general, to stop the FBI and CIA violations of our rights, it makes far more sense to mobilize support

behind bold initiatives such as the SWP and YSA suit against the government. This suit has already pried loose a substantial amount of secret information. In conjunction with this legal offensive, the socialists are conducting a large-scale educational campaign to explain the real lessons of these revelations for working people and all those involved in the fight for social justice.

Independent working-class action

The capitalist class and its political parties are sworn enemies of democratic rights. The democratic rights that the American people have fought for since the Bill of Rights was added to the Constitu-

"An effective fight to defend the rights of the American people requires a declaration of independence from the political parties of the capitalist class. It requires the formation of a new political party to defend the interests of the working class and all of its allies."

tion are constantly in danger of being eroded. As the Church committee itself put it, "The FBI was not just 'chilling' free speech, but squarely attacking it."

Moreover, as the declining, crisis-ridden capitalist system is driven to greater attacks on the economic and social rights of the working class, it can only hold out a perspective of further assaults on elementary democratic rights as well.

An effective fight to defend the rights of the American people requires a declaration of independence from the political parties of the capitalist class. It requires the formation of a new political party, a labor party based on the unions, to defend the interests of the working class and all of its allies.

Such a party would campaign uncompromisingly against any and all violations of democratic rights. It would demand the immediate release of all secret files hidden away in the vaults of the secret police. Its candidates elected to office would denounce and expose the bipartisan game of covering up the continuing crimes against democratic rights.

Such a party would mobilize the vast majority of the American people in a fight to eliminate the root cause of the offensive against democratic liberties: the rule of a tiny minority whose interests are in conflict with the needs and aspirations of the majority.

BIG BROTHER

The lives of millions of Americans have been invaded by police spies. The massive scope of the Big Brother operation is revealed by the following statistics compiled by the Church committee:

- Between 1953 and 1973, the CIA opened and photographed nearly 250,000 first-class letters in the United States.
- Between 1940 and 1966, the FBI opened 130,000 first-class letters in eight U.S. cities.
- Millions of private telegrams were obtained by the National Security Agency between 1947 and 1975.
- The FBI compiled a list of 26,000 people to be rounded up in the event of "national emergency."
- The FBI has more than 500,000 domestic intelligence files in the Washington headquarters alone, with untold more in field offices around the country. In 1972 alone, the bureau opened 65,000 active files.
- From 1955 to 1975, the FBI investigated 740,000 "subversive matters" and 190,000 "extremist matters."

The personal affairs of anyone who expresses even a passing interest in ideas that offend the secret police are likely to be included in the vast files. One ex-informer, who had infiltrated radical groups, told the committee that the FBI issued instructions to "go to meetings, write up reports . . . on what happened, who was there . . . to try to totally identify the background of every person there, what their relationships were, who they were living with, who they were sleeping with . . ."

Another witness told the committee that the FBI wants to know "the thoughts and feelings, intentions and ambitions" of the people they spy on.

FBI, CIA, cops implicated

Ex-deputy sheriff admits to UFW break-ins

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—Jerome Ducote, a former sheriff's deputy and leader of the John Birch Society, pleaded guilty April 19 to charges stemming from seventeen political burglaries he committed in Northern California during 1966 and 1967.

A major aim of the break-ins was to destroy the United Farm Workers union led by César Chávez. The black-bag jobs were at least partly financed by major growers and agribusiness organizations.

The guilty plea, entered in Santa Clara County Superior Court, effectively short-circuited a trial that threatened to implicate the FBI, CIA, growers, politicians, local cops, and utilities companies in the crimes and a subsequent cover-up.



Militant/Howard Petrick
Strength of farm workers movement caused growers to plot to destroy UFW

The burglaries came to light last December when Ducote was accused of defrauding several growers of \$30,000. He had borrowed money from the growers, falsely claiming the funds were to be used in a government-inspired scheme to discredit the UFW.

When Ducote failed to pay back the money and the promised scandal didn't materialize, the growers called the cops.

During the investigation, Ducote freely admitted having committed the burglaries in the mid-1960s, apparently believing no charges could be filed against him because the statute of limitations on the break-ins had already run out.

He described how he and two accomplices had broken into the offices of labor, civil libertarian, and radical

groups and individuals, in some cases at the behest of anti-UFW growers who were seeking derogatory information about the union.

The targeted groups and individuals included the United Farm Workers, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, *People's World* (the West Coast newspaper of the Communist party), *Ramparts* magazine, Berkeley United Committee Against the War, San Jose Peace Center, community organizer Saul Alinsky, and consumer activist Grace McDonald.

The growers admitted hiring Ducote to investigate the union, but denied they knew anything about the burglaries.

Ducote also implicated at least two members of Congress, the FBI, the CIA, and the Pacific Gas and Electric Company as among those who had been given access to stolen property or information.

Although Ducote was not charged with the burglaries, he was formally accused of receiving stolen property, in addition to charges relating to the loan fraud perpetrated against growers.

After his arrest, Ducote said he was being made a "fall guy" for highly placed individuals. He said he collected the information for the government and that the FBI was the ultimate recipient of much of the material.

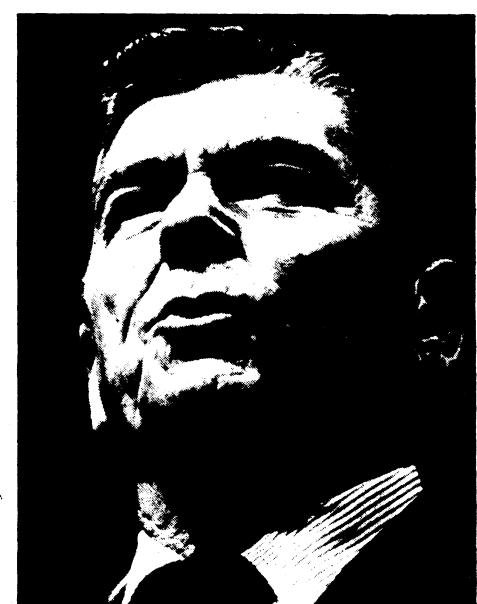
The FBI issued carefully worded nondenials, such as "we never knowingly dealt with him," while refusing to comment on reports that they dealt with Ducote through intermediaries.

But evidence that Ducote was working for the FBI is substantial.

In sworn testimony at a preliminary hearing of charges against Ducote, UFW attorney Jerry Cohen revealed that the FBI had known of Ducote's activities at least as early as 1974.

Ducote had contacted Cohen in early 1974, offering to give stolen records back to the union if the union paid him \$25,000. Cohen met with him, but refused the demand.

Cohen then notified the FBI. A



Former Gov. Ronald Reagan covered up crimes, César Chávez charged.

second meeting with Ducote was arranged, which was monitored by FBI agents, Cohen testified. But no action against Ducote was taken by the FBI.

It has also been revealed that in 1967 one of Ducote's accomplices in a burglary of UFW offices in Delano was arrested for the crime. The burglar was released after Ducote and an attorney told the chief of police in Delano that the burglary had been carried out for the FBI.

UFW President César Chávez has called the case a "little Watergate" and charged that former Gov. Ronald Reagan participated in a cover-up of the crimes.

Ducote's guilty plea came after a full day of negotiations between the judge and lawyers for the prosecution and defense. Immediately after the guilty plea was entered, all concerned gave out carefully orchestrated stories to the effect that no deal had been made.

Most imaginative was Ducote, who said he was motivated by the desire to save the taxpayers the expense of a lengthy trial.

'Matching funds': For capitalist candidates only

By Andrea Morell, director,
1976 campaign committee

"President Delays on Bill to Resume Primary Subsidy," announced the headline in the May 7 *New York Times*. "Inaction by Ford Bars U.S. Matching Funds for the May 18 Michigan Race," was the subhead.

Ford's stalling has prompted suggestions that he is trying to hamper Ronald Reagan's bid for the Republican nomination by cutting off federal campaign funds.

Meanwhile, Ford is bankrolling his

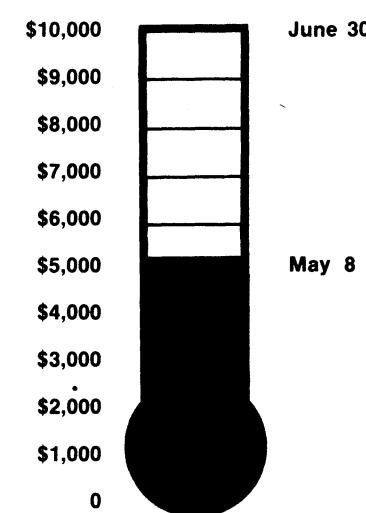
piece of "reform" legislation they have so highly touted as the antidote to corruption in politics. This proves the futility of trying to clean up capitalist politics by relying on laws devised and carried out by the capitalist parties themselves.

The real purpose of their election finance law—which the Democrats and Republicans have never had any intention of obeying—is to try to make it as difficult as possible for independent, working-class candidates and parties to challenge the capitalists politically in the electoral arena. That is why the law is rigged to deny matching funds altogether to any candidate who is not a Democrat or Republican.

It also works to decrease labor and Black political influence by imposing a \$5,000 ceiling on campaign contributions from mass political organizations.

In the meantime, the Federal Election Commission has ruled that the \$1,000 limit on an individual's contributions is waived if the money is spent independently, instead of being donated to the candidate's campaign committee. Thus, Rockefeller is free to spend "independently" as much as he can afford to promote the candidate of his choice. Of course, the average steelworker has an equal right to do so, too.

How we're doing



contributors. We are refusing to turn over their names pending the suit's outcome.

The Camejo and Reid campaign is proving that, despite all the obstacles erected by the capitalist politicians, a working-class party can make an impact through the elections and win adherents to its banner.

Help promote the socialist alternative by contributing to the Camejo & Reid '76 Campaign Fund. Supporters boosted the drive last week by \$1,036, bringing the current total to \$5,338.

Use the coupon below and make checks payable to Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____.

Name _____

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A copy of our report is on file with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. Chairperson: Fred Halstead; treasurer: Arthur Hughes.

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM
INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

MAY 21, 1976

SP leaders in tight spot

Portugal's election shows majority want socialism

By Gerry Foley

The result of the April 25 legislative elections in Portugal show that even after two years of disappointments and divisions created by the reformist mass workers parties and their satellites, an absolute majority of the Portuguese people and an overwhelming majority of the workers are still determined to have a socialist society.

Together the Communist and Socialist parties won 49.53% of the vote. This, added to the 4.7% won by the smaller leftist parties, brings the total vote for the workers parties to 54.23%. This compares with a combined vote of 54.37% in last year's Constituent Assembly elections.

The comparison, however, is complicated by the fact that last year a CP front party, the Movimento Democrático Português (MDP—Portuguese Democratic Movement), got 4.12% of the vote. This year the party pulled out of the elections, calling on its supporters to vote for the CP.

If the MDP vote is counted as part of the left total, then the left vote actually declined by 4.26%. This is still far from the decisive setback the bourgeoisie was hoping for.

Strong majority

The Portuguese capitalists' hope that these elections would mark the political exhaustion of a major section of the masses was shattered.



Soares has offered olive branch to Portuguese capitalists. Given outcome of recent elections, can he pull off his plans?

The parties dependent on the working class won a strong majority of 147 votes in a 259-seat legislature.

There are indications that the CP, which centered its campaign on the slogan of "For a left majority," made gains at the expense of the SP in the decisive industrial areas of Lisbon, Oporto, and Setúbal, as well as in the radical rural areas in Alentejo. This cannot be measured precisely, however, until there is a detailed breakdown of the vote and this is compared with the CP-MDP vote in every neighborhood.

Overall, the CP vote rose from 12.53% to 14.56%, a gain of 2.03%. However, this is a drop of 2.09% as compared with the 1975 total of 16.65% for the CP-MDP. As against this, the SP vote fell from 37.87% to 34.97%, a drop of 2.9%.

Thus, the CP did not win the famous victory that is being proclaimed in the world Stalinist press. However, the results indicate that the CP vote in the socially decisive sectors of the masses remained firm, and may even have increased. Consequently, the SP remains under strong pressure from the CP, whose slogan of unity on the left seems to have been its most effective appeal.

As a result, the SP leadership is in a tight spot. It pledged to the capitalists in Portugal and internationally, especially in the United States, that it would not ally itself with the CP. This election was supposed to establish the SP as the party of capitalist "normalization."

What next?

But now, if Soares is to hold his base, he will have to depend on CP votes in parliament. This is distasteful to Wall Street. The *New York Times*, which speaks weightily for American finance capital, lost no time in advising Soares what to do. In an editorial April 27, it said:

"The Socialists won more votes than anyone else but only 35 percent of the total. . . . Given Portugal's gigantic problems of political and economic reconstruction, it would be disastrous if party chief Mário Soares tried to lead a minority Government, which would be forced on critical issues to bid for votes in Parliament from other parties, including the Communists."

The only solution, the *New York Times* said, was a coalition with the bourgeois forces. However, Soares explained quite openly following the elections that such a course would mean the "destruction" of the SP and



Portuguese Communist party did not suffer widely predicted losses in recent elections.

would "facilitate a totalitarian revolution."

If the CP pushed for a united front with the SP in action instead of just in ambiguous electoral slogans, Soares's plans for a reconciliation with the bourgeoisie could easily be shattered. The Stalinists will not do this by choice. But the objective need for working-class unity has become very clear.

Furthermore, the workers will regard the election results as a victory and an encouragement to renew the struggles

they were forced to call off so as not to "destabilize the elections."

The need for working-class unity is all the more pressing because the elections also revealed a sharpening class polarization, with a shift of 8% to the right-wing Centro Democrático Social. Furthermore, the preelectoral polls showed a political wavering among the masses that may not have disappeared. The two months between now and the presidential elections will be a critical period for the Portuguese revolution.

Revolutionary socialists' vote increases

Two Portuguese Trotskyist parties ran in the April 25 elections.

The Liga Comunista Internacionista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League), Portuguese sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, entered slates in twenty of the twenty-two constituencies. It received .30 percent of the vote. Last year the LCI entered only four races, getting .19 percent of the vote.

The Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party), which has declared its adherence to the Fourth International, did not run in last year's elections. This year it ran in four districts, getting .10 percent of the vote.

A third Trotskyist organization, composed of former members of the

PRT, did not run in the elections, but supported the LCI candidates.

Portugal's capitalist government tried to muzzle the LCI, denying it access to radio and television coverage in a decree issued April 10. The ban was lifted on April 15, however. The LCI solicited support and held protests during the period of the ban, demanding its right to be heard by Portuguese voters.

The LCI's defense efforts were supported by the PRT, by the Frente Socialista Popular (FSP—People's Socialist Front), and by local units of several other Portuguese parties. The LCI also won the backing of several workers assemblies and a tenants committee, along with endorsements from more than ninety prominent writers and intellectuals.

Fallout from Washington's Angola setback

Kissinger announces new policy in southern Africa

By David Frankel

Kissinger's two-week visit to Africa, which began in Kenya April 24, was designed to help dramatize an important shift in the State Department's stance in southern Africa. "The black tide is flowing southward," Joseph C. Harsch commented in the April 30 *Christian Science Monitor*. "It has become a simple question whether American policy would be rolled under that tide, or ride with it."

In Rhodesia, the white racist regime of Prime Minister Ian Smith faces massive opposition from the Zimbabwean masses and a widening guerrilla war. Moreover, the rise of the class struggle in southern Africa, epitomized by the collapse of Portugal's colonial empire, is putting increased pressure on the apartheid regime in Pretoria.

In response, the Ford administration has decided to establish closer ties with Black leaders in southern Africa while publicly dissociating itself from the Smith regime in Rhodesia and from the most vicious aspects of the apartheid system in South Africa.

Kissinger's new line

Originally, Kissinger's itinerary included stops at Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, Zaire, Ghana, Liberia, Senegal, and a return visit to Kenya to attend the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. However, on April 27 Kissinger was informed that he would not be welcome in Ghana, where students had demonstrated against his visit. The State Department blamed Moscow for the cancellation, claiming that it had instigated the protests. Earlier, the Nigerian government had also declined to receive Kissinger.

Kissinger's prescription for overcoming Washington's diplomatic difficulties in Africa was presented in Zambia April 27. To begin with, Kissinger backed "in the strongest terms" British Prime Minister James Callaghan's March 22 proposal for a negotiated settlement in Rhodesia leading to majority rule and independence within two years.

Both the British and the American imperialists badly want such a negotiated settlement in Rhodesia. They fear that the stubbornness of the Smith regime may provoke a mass movement that could prove fatal to imperialist domination in all of southern Africa.

In his talk, which was billed in advance as a major foreign policy statement, Kissinger said that "the Salisbury regime must understand that it cannot expect United States support either in diplomacy or in material help at any stage in its conflict with African states or African liberation movements. On the contrary, it will face our unrelenting opposition until a negotiated settlement is achieved."

Kissinger made a number of additional pledges in regard to Rhodesia. The most important were that:

- The Ford administration would seek to enforce economic sanctions voted against the Rhodesian regime by the United Nations. "We will urge the Congress this year to repeal the Byrd Amendment, which authorizes Rhodesian chrome imports to the United States . . ."

- Washington would provide \$12.5 million in aid to Mozambique to partially offset the economic losses



Kissinger with Tanzanian head of state Julius Nyerere

sustained there as a result of the Samora Machel regime's decision to close its border with Rhodesia.

- Washington "is ready to help alleviate economic hardship for any countries neighboring Rhodesia which decide to enforce sanctions by closing their frontiers"

Turning to Namibia, which is illegally occupied by the South African regime, Kissinger called for "a definite timetable acceptable to the world community for the achievement of self-determination."

He also urged Pretoria "to permit all the people and groups of Namibia to express their views freely, under U.N. supervision, on the political future and constitutional structure of their country."

However, when it came to South Africa itself, Kissinger carefully avoided any reference to majority rule.

He confined himself to calling for "a peaceful end to institutionalized inequality," and to urging that the Vorster regime put pressure on Ian Smith "to promote a rapid negotiated settlement for majority rule in Rhodesia."

Even in the case of Rhodesia, the Ford administration's newly proclaimed commitment to majority rule was strictly limited. At his final news conference in Nairobi on April 25, Kissinger insisted that the U.S. government "does not plan to give military aid in any form to the nationalist movements in Africa."

'Tar Baby' flops

Nevertheless, Kissinger's speech represented a turn in State Department policy. The old policy toward southern Africa was set out in a memorandum prepared by Kissinger and approved

by former President Nixon in February 1970.

Nicknamed "Tar Baby" by White House advisers, Kissinger's former policy was to:

... maintain public opposition to racial repression but relax political isolation and economic restrictions on the white states. ... Without openly taking a position undermining the UK [United Kingdom] and the UN on Rhodesia, we would be more flexible in our attitude toward the Smith regime. We would take present Portuguese policies as suggesting further changes in the Portuguese territories. At the same time we would take diplomatic steps to convince the black states of the area that their current liberation and majority rule aspirations in the south are not attainable by violence and that their only hope for a peaceful and prosperous future lies in closer relations with white-dominated states.

Nixon and his advisers were mainly concerned with South Africa. Under the "Tar Baby" policy, the Nixon administration quietly reopened military sales to Pretoria. South Africa's share in the almost \$3 billion in direct American investments in sub-Saharan Africa jumped from 38 percent in 1972 to 56 percent in 1974. This percentage is still rising.

Although Rhodesia was not nearly as important economically or militarily, Kissinger argued in 1970 that "it seems to me premature to give up Salisbury now."

The basic premise behind this policy was that the "whites are here [in Africa] to stay and the only way that constructive change can come about is through them."

This racist "white man's burden" policy was the foreign counterpart of the domestic policy of "benign neglect" followed in relation to Blacks in the United States by Nixon's former assistant on urban affairs, Daniel P. Moynihan. The passage of the Byrd Amendment in 1971 was no more than one of the practical consequences of a policy that had already been approved by the White House.

But the assumption that the African masses could be safely ignored began to crumble in 1974, along with the Portuguese colonial empire. The collapse of the imperialist military intervention in Angola was decisive in showing the State Department that a turn in policy was required.

A matter of timing

The first signs of this shift came with Kissinger's trip to Latin America in February. As an article in the March 15 issue of *Intercontinental Press* ("Saber Rattling Over Cuba's African Role") pointed out, under cover of his denunciations of Cuba Kissinger was moving toward a different stance in Angola. It was noticeable, the article said:

... that the Peruvian government recognized the MPLA government the day after Kissinger left Lima.

Colombian President Alfonso López Michelsen announced his intention to recognize the MPLA with Kissinger sitting next to him . . .

One of Kissinger's objectives in his tour thus seems to have been to assure the Latin Americans that Washington would not retaliate if they recognized the MPLA government in Angola. This would accord with the State Department's decision to make a turn in Angola, a course first indicated by the permission granted to Gulf Oil to resume friendly collaboration with the MPLA as in the past.

This turn dovetails with the actions of America's imperialist allies in Europe in hastily mending fences with the MPLA.



Rhodesian cop uses dog to hold back African demonstrators. Smith's colonial-settler regime faces massive internal opposition and widening guerrilla war.

World news notes

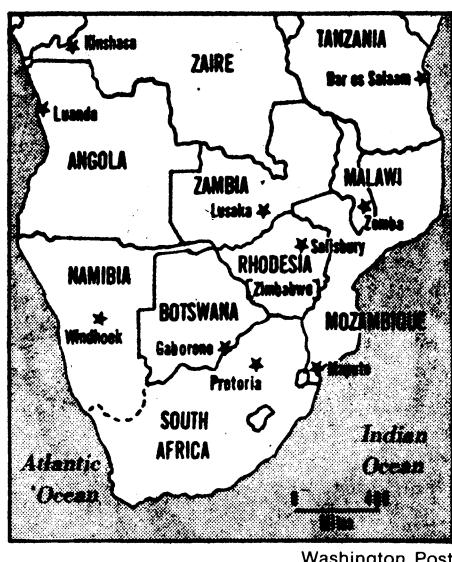
during two-week junket

Of course, it was necessary for Kissinger to take the matter of timing into account. After beating the drums about the Communist menace in Angola, which supposedly endangered the whole African continent, Kissinger was hardly in position to move immediately toward recognizing the MPLA regime.

As a result, the shift in State Department policy in Africa was made step by step. On April 6, for example, U.S. Ambassador William Scranton voted in the UN Security Council in favor of extending economic sanctions against Rhodesia. This was a precursor of Kissinger's call for the repeal of the Byrd Amendment.

On April 14, Kissinger met with members of the Congressional Black Caucus. One participant in the meeting, Congressman Charles Diggs, said that Kissinger was not yet prepared to recognize the MPLA regime, "but he obviously feels that at some point the U.S. will recognize that country."

Speaking in Liberia April 30, Kissinger said, "We wish Angola well as a unified and independent state." He added that before discussions on diplomatic ties could take place, "We want to know Angola's intentions with respect to the presence of foreign forces on its soil."



Washington Post

This muted reference to "foreign forces" illustrated another aspect of the State Department's new approach. Throughout his African tour, Kissinger has avoided the former strident rhetoric about "Cuban mercenaries" and the danger of "Soviet expansionism."

Angola another Egypt?

Washington's basic calculation was summed up by columnist Clayton Fritchey in an April 24 article in the *New York Post*. Fritchey noted that only a few years ago the Soviets appeared to be "firmly entrenched" in Egypt, but today Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat is strongly supporting Kissinger's Middle East policy.

"If it can happen in Egypt," Fritchey argued, "it can also happen—even more readily—in Angola, which is why our European allies, in contrast to the U.S., have promptly recognized the MPLA liberation force as the official government of Angola and have started offering economic aid."

The decision to rely more heavily on the neocolonial regimes in southern Africa and to put pressure on leaders within the Black freedom movements to collaborate with American imperialism was clearly necessary from Washington's standpoint, in view of the

objective situation. The delay in implementing this policy had more to do with Ford's problem of winning the Republican nomination for president than with the situation in Africa.

Ford waited as long as possible so as to minimize the opening that might be provided to Ronald Reagan in the contest for the racist vote in the Republican party presidential primaries. Reagan complained April 28 that Kissinger's pledge to support majority rule in Rhodesia might encourage more "violence" there.

"Going over there and encouraging the side that advocates bloodshed is a mistake," Reagan said. "I'm afraid we're going to have a massacre."

On April 30, Reagan returned to the subject. He urged Kissinger to "avoid impulsive reactions," arguing that the Rhodesians "have special problems which will require time to solve."

In appealing for the racist vote, Reagan also came out against the repeal of the Byrd Amendment.

Smith scores 'surrender'

While the capitalist politicians in the United States, jockeying for position in the primaries, were considering how best to tailor their positions on the new policy in southern Africa, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith blasted Kissinger's move.

In an April 27 speech, Smith denounced his previous supporters in Washington, saying that "they are prepared to sacrifice the whites of Rhodesia—and if necessary of the whole of southern Africa. . . ."

Smith vowed that "we have no intention whatever of surrendering our country as part of a policy of appealing the Communists."

The day before Smith's speech, the Rhodesian regime announced that it was setting up a "national security committee" charged with censoring the press, radio, and television. A government official said the censorship would cover "information relating to defense, public safety, public order, the economic interests of the state, or information that could cause alarm and despondency. . . ."

An April 26 Reuters dispatch from Salisbury reported that the new committee would have "power to authorize the police to enter any premises and seize anything containing information that the committee believes should not be published."

Smith followed this up by announcing in his April 27 speech the establishment of "special criminal courts to deal solely with trials arising from terrorist activities." He explained that "the orthodox courts are not, in the opinion of Government, adequately able under existing procedures to deal with such cases as quickly as we would like."

At the same time that his regime was adopting these repressive measures aimed at the Black majority, Smith tried to persuade the world how forward-looking his government was by swearing in four Black tribal chiefs as members of his cabinet. The tribal chiefs are paid by the government, which in the past has deposed those it found too militant.

The American imperialists, however, are not about to reverse their new policy for the sake of the Smith regime. South Africa, not Rhodesia, remains Washington's real concern, just as when the Nixon administration was following its "Tar Baby" plan.

Gandhi dumps habeus corpus

On April 28 the Indian Supreme Court destroyed one of the last hopes of many thousands of Indian political prisoners that they would ever receive a trial. The court ruled 4 to 1 that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has the right to imprison anyone she wants to without disclosing the charges against them or bringing them before a court.

Explaining the rationale for the suspension of the right of habeas corpus, Chief Justice A.N. Ray said, "Liberty is confined and controlled by law. It is not an absolute freedom."

In a dissenting opinion, Justice H.R. Khanna disputed the legality of Gandhi's abrogation of the right to trial. He said that "in a purely formal sense, even the organized mass murders of the Nazi regime qualify as law."

According to conservative estimates, more than 100,000 persons are confined to Gandhi's jails as a result of her state of emergency. The London-based Committee for Justice for Indian Political Prisoners estimates that 200,000 are being held.

Forced birth control in India

A birth-control policy of "top national priority" was outlined by the Gandhi regime April 16. The plan calls for raising the minimum marriage age from eighteen to twenty-one for men and from fifteen to eighteen for women. It also offers material incentives for those who undergo sterilization.

Although the new program stops short of nationwide compulsory sterilization, the federal government made it clear in announcing the policy that it was not opposed to such legislation. The aim is to persuade the Indian masses that population growth, not capitalist misrule, is at the root of the country's poverty.

One state has already taken steps to enforce practice of birth control.

On March 25 the Punjab cabinet passed an ordinance providing for a fine of up to Rs. 5,000 (one rupee=US\$1.11) and up to three years in jail for both members of a couple having more than two children.

In Maharashtra, a bill is pending providing maximum penalties of two years imprisonment, fines of about US\$57, and compulsory sterilization for couples who refuse to be sterilized after having three or more children.

In Haryana the government is considering a bill imposing a fine of Rs. 2,000 with compulsory sterilization of the parents if they have a third child. However, an exemption will be made for a third child in cases where the two earlier children were female.

The government of West Bengal is also readying a compulsory sterilization bill.

In February the Indian government announced that government jobs, housing, medical care, schools, and drinking water would be denied to government employees and Delhi residents who did not limit their families to two children. No additional, criminal penalties were mentioned.

Blaming poverty on "overpopulation," the regime has initiated what Dr. Harish Mazumdar, dean of the Goa Medical College, called a "war" against the "population problem."

Referring to the opposition to mass forced sterilization, Mazumdar said, "In war, some personal rights have to be taken away from the average citizen for the common good."

Soviet citizens back Dzhemilev

Mustafa Dzhemilev, the Crimean Tatar activist who was sentenced to two and a half years in a labor camp April 15, has received public support from other Soviet citizens. More than 380 persons have signed appeals on behalf of Dzhemilev, who has already spent nearly seven years in confinement because of his activities in defense of the rights of the Crimean Tatar people.

One of the appeals was signed by 268 Crimean Tatars, most of them from the Central Asian republic of Uzbekistan. In another appeal, Soviet historian Alexander Nekrich called on his colleagues to end their "shameful silence" and fight for an amnesty for political prisoners in the Soviet Union and in the rest of the world.

Peking's march of science

When a shower of more than 100 meteorites fell on farmland in northeast China in March, a research team from the Chinese Academy of Sciences was sent to the area to conduct an examination of the rare stones.

In due course it was determined that the meteorites contained silicon, magnesium, iron, sulfur, calcium, nickel, and aluminum.

The success of the research came as no surprise to the Maoist authorities, who reported April 21 in Hsinhua that the scientific survey was conducted in "the excellent situation in which the people of the whole country are intensifying the criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping's counterrevolutionary crimes and deepening the struggle against the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts."

'Made in Israel'

In reporting from Jerusalem in the April 18 *New York Times*, Terence Smith noted the following item in the mutually profitable alliance between Israel and South Africa:

"... Israel served a practical purpose for South Africa. It provided a nondiscriminatory market for South African goods and occasionally served to hide the South Africa label. South African textiles destined for sale in black African countries, for example, were shipped to Israel, finished here, then marketed with a 'Made in Israel' label."

Threatens execution

Angola-MPLA launches crackdown on dissenters

By Ernest Harsch

The biggest wave of political arrests in Luanda since Angola gained its independence is now under way. Faced with growing criticisms of its policies by students and workers in the capital, the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) began a crackdown against political opponents in early April.

Before the month was over, more than 100 persons had been arrested by the MPLA's political police, the Direcção de Informação e Segurança de Angola (DISA—Angola Directorate of Information and Security).

The official signal for the repression came from Interior Minister Nito Alves. According to the April 9 Lisbon daily *Jornal Novo*, he ordered all neighborhood, municipal, and provincial "people's commissions" to be "vigilant" and to turn in to the authorities all members of the Revolta Activa (Active Revolt, an opposition faction within the MPLA) and the Organização Comunista de Angola (OCA—Angola Communist Organization, a pro-Maoist group).

He continued, "All obviously reactionary individuals—those who individually are known to belong to the OCA, either as advisers, writers, or propagandists, or those who have up to now been passionately loyal to the Revolta Activa or have shown such an attitude—will have to be immediately arrested."

Arrests and searches

The crackdown began even before Alves's declaration. A report in the April 7 *Jornal Novo* said that the DISA was on the alert for persons distributing antigovernment literature: "Arbitrary searches and arrests are now a constant feature of life in the Angolan capital."

Father Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, who was seized on April 18, was the most well known of the political figures arrested by the MPLA. A former chancellor of the Archdiocese of Luanda, he is the brother of Mário Pinto de Andrade, one of the principal founders of the MPLA. According to René Péliéssier, in his contribution to the book *Angola* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), he played an important role in helping the MPLA establish some of its first cells in Luanda in the late 1950s.

Andrade was imprisoned by the Portuguese colonialists in June 1960 after protesting the arrest of Agostinho Neto, the present head of the MPLA and the president of the People's Republic of Angola. Andrade spent more than ten years in various Portuguese prisons. In 1962 he was elected honorary president of the MPLA.

After his release he became a leader of the Revolta Activa faction, which is opposed to Neto's leadership of the MPLA. On May 11, 1974, he signed the "Platform of the 19," which denounced

the Neto leadership's "presidentialism" and raised charges of "tribalism and regionalism" in the MPLA's functioning.

Among the other Revolta Activa leaders who have been arrested by the MPLA are Gentil Viana, a former adviser to Neto; Rui Castro Lopo, a former commander of the MPLA's second military region during the guerrilla war against the Portuguese; Manuel Videira, a doctor who served on the MPLA's eastern front during the guerrilla war; and Hugo de Menezes, a signer of the Platform of the 19 and a member of the MPLA's steering committee in 1962.

Book burnings

According to the report in the April 7 *Jornal Novo*, the MPLA has even begun to practice book burning. The police, it said, "burned the best library of revolutionary books in the country, just because it had been set up by Maria do Céu Carmo Reis, a former activist of the MPLA who is intellectually allied with the so-called Revolta Activa."

The repression has also hit members and leaders of other political groups opposed to the MPLA that have emerged in Luanda's *muceques*, the large slum areas that surround the city.

A statement released by the OCA charged that "the MPLA has arrested dozens of outstanding revolutionary militants." (*Jornal Novo*, April 23.)

Among those seized, the OCA said, were members of the Secretariat of the Coordinating Body of the Neighborhood People's Commissions of Luanda, Sirgado, and Nogueira, as well as other OCA activists, such as Henrique Guerra, who spent many years in Portuguese prisons and who was a friend of Joaquim Pinto de Andrade.

The OCA was formed in early 1975 and held its first congress in October. Shortly after the congress, it began publishing *Jornal Comunista*, which labeled the MPLA a bourgeois party and denounced its repressive and anti-working-class policies.

The OCA was also opposed to the MPLA's rivals in the civil war, the FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola—Angolan National Liberation Front) and the UNITA (União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

The OCA was clearly influenced by Maoism. It denounced Soviet "social imperialism" in Angola and called for the establishment of a "people's democracy." Its position on the civil war, however, was at variance with that of Peking. While the Chinese Communist party—in the interests of its own narrow bureaucratic dispute with the Soviet Stalinists—directed most of its criticisms at Moscow's involvement in Angola, the OCA labeled U.S. imperialism and its allies as the main enemy of the Angolan peoples.

Alves charged that OCA members



MPLA leaders Agostinho Neto (left) and Marcelino dos Santos. 'Insulting the MPLA' has evidently now become a capital offense in Angola.

may have "infiltrated" government ministries. Neto, according to the April 3 *Economist*, declared, "Consciously or not, there are agents of imperialism even within our movement. They praise a socialist country which never helped us during the war. They praise China. . . . Those who persist are traitors."

Trotsky and Bakunin?

Members of the Comitês Amílcar Cabral (CAC—Amílcar Cabral Committees) have also been arrested in the recent crackdown. Most of its leaders are now in jail. The MPLA first began arresting members of the CAC, as well as other young activists, in October 1975. The arrests, as well as the banning of the CAC's newspaper *Poder Popular*, were carried out under the guise of a campaign against "the partisans of Trotsky and Bakunin."

Persons who worked on the popular radio program "Kudibenguela" (Our Struggle) have been detained as well. The MPLA suppressed the program three months ago, leading to a demonstration of about 600 dock workers and high-school students on February 6. The protesters demanded the reinstatement of the program and the ouster of all whites and *mestiços* (persons of mixed Portuguese and African ancestry) from the government.

The MPLA has tried to justify its repressive actions by claiming that its political opponents are "racists," "divisionists," and "agents of imperialism."

In the April 1 *Washington Post*, correspondent Carlyle Murphy quoted Lucio Lara, the general secretary of the MPLA, as saying, "The enemy formed groups with fancy names like 'Communist' to make them appear more advanced than the program of the MPLA and then put these organizations, which are absolutely created by the CIA and which have crazy and incoherent language, to insulting the MPLA point by point."

"Insulting the MPLA" has now apparently become a capital offense.

In his call for the turning in of all members of the Revolta Activa and the OCA, Alves said that "reeducation camps will not be built. Of course, some can be saved through reeduca-

tion and persuasion. But the intransigent ones, the most hardheaded, the most obstinate, will have to be eliminated."

MPLA seeks 'discipline'

The MPLA's response to its political opponents is in keeping with its overall anti-working-class policies. Since coming to power in Luanda it has sought to "discipline" the workers by breaking strikes, introducing speedup, and stifling any independent working-class leadership that has arisen.

The OCA statement cited in the April 23 *Jornal Novo* appealed to "all revolutionary and progressive political forces" to show their solidarity with the campaign for freedom for the political prisoners.

The MPLA's decision to resort to the use of repressive measures against political dissidents standing to the left indicates that it fears a socialist challenge to its course toward accommodation with imperialism. It also indicates the existence of substantial dissatisfaction among the Angolan population.

According to a dispatch from Luanda by Carlyle Murphy in the March 1 *Washington Post*, "The rising expectations of Angola's black population have been frustrated by the economic crisis created by months of civil war. The government's austerity measures and appeals for higher productivity have not been popular."

In the April 1 *Washington Post*, Murphy reported that an underground newspaper, *Jornal de Operário*, has charged the MPLA with making concessions to American imperialism by inviting the Gulf Oil Company to resume its operations in Cabinda. It also attacked the MPLA for having "sold out" to Moscow and for having allowed the Cubans to become "new colonizers" in Africa.

"The leftists," Murphy said, "have formed various clandestine groups and have demanded that the Popular Movement immediately form a government of 'workers and peasants.' In the last month they have accelerated propaganda activities among laborers and in the poorer neighborhoods of Luanda."

Newspaper Guild 'Unity/Reform' slate: opening up union to its own membership

By Lee Oleson

WASHINGTON—To make the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild serve the needs of the membership.

That is the goal of a group of rank-and-file guild activists who are campaigning for election as delegates to the Newspaper Guild's national convention, to be held in Washington this summer.

Seventeen activists are running as the "Unity/Reform" slate, on a platform that calls for opening the union up to its own membership. The election is being held May 17-21.

One of the candidates on the slate is Tom Grubisich, newly elected president of the Washington-Baltimore

Lee Oleson is a member of the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild and a candidate on the Unity/Reform slate.

Newspaper Guild. In his three months as president, Grubisich has supported the rights of rank-and-file guild members to run their own union.

Such efforts have run into opposition, however, from guild staff members and old-line officials. One example is the difficulty members face in getting access to negotiating sessions of guild units at the *Washington Post* and the *Star*, the Communications Workers of America, and the Bureau of National Affairs.

Years ago negotiating sessions at the *Post* were held in the *Post* building and were open to all members. The guild was a stronger union for it.

The most recent negotiations have been held in a Maryland suburb miles

from the *Post* and have been closed to rank-and-filers.

The platform of the Unity/Reform slate calls for "open and accessible negotiations so as to insure the responsiveness of negotiators to the needs of rank-and-file members."

The platform endorses efforts to have one union represent all newspaper employees. It urges "work for improved communication among various newspaper unions" and "efforts at coordinated bargaining, information sharing, and mergers that would enhance the concept of one newspaper union."

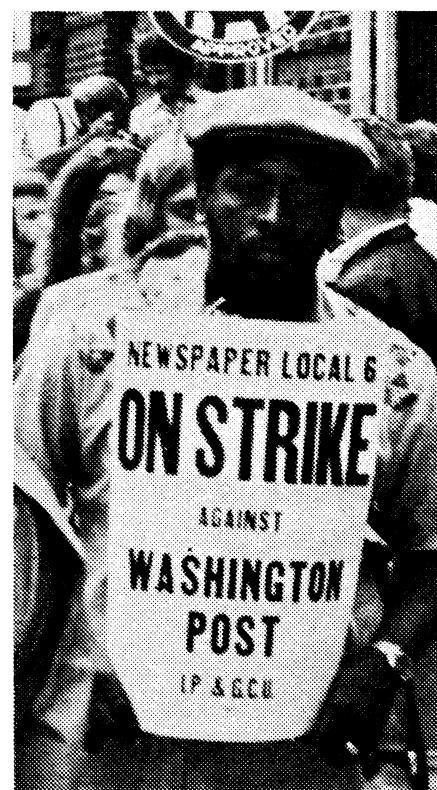
The platform also supports "affirmative action in the hiring of minority groups and women" and opposes "attempts by government to compromise constitutional press freedoms."

A weakness in the platform is that it does not emphasize the need for labor solidarity, especially among newspaper workers, who face organized attacks from publishers all over the country.

The refusal of hundreds of guild members to support the *Post* press operators' strike played a major role in breaking the strike. That defeat has in turn encouraged management attacks on the guild itself, as well as other newspaper unions.

A continuing threat to the Washington-Baltimore guild is the attempt by a group of *Post* employees to form a "Washington Newspaper Union." Establishment of this company-sponsored union would lop off one-third of the membership of the Washington-Baltimore guild local by eliminating the entire *Post* unit. An active campaign is needed to defeat the company union.

The Unity/Reform slate opposes



Militant/Mark Ugolini
Defeat of 'Washington Post' strike has spurred publishers into new attacks on newspaper unions.

major setback for the unions at the *Post* and throughout the newspaper publishing industry. A major part of the blame for this defeat lies with the guild officialdom, which for many years had mis-educated members with the narrow outlook of craft-divided unionism—the opposite of labor solidarity.

Now the same officials are trying to cover up their own responsibility by blaming those members who acted in the worst craft-union traditions.

Members of the Unity/Reform slate believe the charges against *Post* employees do nothing to draw the lessons of the strike or prepare the unions to better meet such attacks in the future. The charges only encourage the likes of the procompany "Washington Newspaper Union."

Right now the organizing drive by the company union appears to have stalled. A group of its supporters recently made a pitch for money to continue issuing antiguild propaganda. "Without an immediate show of support," they said, the would-be union "may have to fold."

The election to determine whether the guild or the company union has jurisdiction at the *Post* has still not been scheduled. In the meantime, *Post* guild members are without the protection of a contract.

Meanwhile, guild contract talks at the Bureau of National Affairs have been stalled for weeks over the company's refusal to improve medical benefits. This employer's hard line is undoubtedly encouraged by the signs of weakness in the guild—weaknesses that could be eliminated if the union could once again win the support of its own rank-and-file members.

Boost to 'Militant' sales

Socialists getting to know their neighbors

By Pat Galligan

Each Saturday this spring, teams of socialists have left the Socialist Workers party headquarters in New Orleans to sell the *Militant* at several large supermarkets in the city.

The *Militant*'s support of Gary Tyler has consistently found a warm response. The Black youth sits on death row, convicted of a crime he did not commit.

Many Blacks have come to respect the *Militant*, not only because of what

it has to say about Gary Tyler, but for its general antiracist coverage.

The supermarket sales have been quite successful—New Orleans has made its sales goal all but one week of the spring campaign thus far.

While the *Militant* was winning friends across the city, the paper's supporters weren't circulating it very much right in the Black neighborhood where the SWP's Magazine Street headquarters is located.

Then, on Saturday, May 1, a team of

three socialists went door to door in the community to visit some of their neighbors. In the course of an hour and a half, they sold forty-five single copies of the *Militant* and signed up twenty-six subscribers.

We asked Greg Nelson about his experiences that afternoon.

"I met one woman I recognized from Gary Tyler defense work," said Nelson. "We hadn't realized before that we're neighbors. She bought a subscription."

"Not only that," he continued, "she took me by the hand to three more doors and told the people to subscribe—'Just give the man a dollar,' she said, 'I'll fill in the names and addresses.'"

The subscriptions sold that day put New Orleans ahead of schedule in the subscription drive.

Nelson mentioned another outcome of the canvassing: "A few of the people we talked to are interested in holding a community meeting for Tyler. They've asked to use our headquarters. Now we're all working to build the meeting."

Socialists in New Orleans aren't the only ones who have been getting acquainted with their neighbors lately. In Denver, the SWP has opened up a new headquarters in that city's Chicano community. Last week, members sold seventeen subscriptions in the housing projects near the headquarters.

As the scoreboard indicates, we have fallen somewhat behind schedule nationally in our drive to sign up 5,500 new readers by May 31. *Militant* supporters in areas that are behind would do well to follow New Orleans's



Militant/Jon Mitchell

and Denver's example.

The national sales total for the May 7 *Militant* (headline: "What next for antiracist fight?") was 5,500.

Several cities reported an excellent response to the article "Chicano Nationalism and Socialism," featured on page 1 and in the *International Socialist Review* section of that issue.

According to SWP organizer María Hernández, the East Los Angeles branch sold 205 *Militants*—their best sales week yet. Virtually all of the papers were sold to Chicanos at Cinco de Mayo activities.

Lessons for steel

The fight against the no-strike deal



1943: Miners struck in defiance of government, smashed wartime wage freeze

By Andy Rose

(Fifth of a series)

When the Eighteenth Constitutional Convention of the United Steelworkers of America meets in Las Vegas this August, the odds are high that union President I.W. Abel's no-strike agreement with the major steel corporations will not be freely debated on the convention floor.

That doesn't mean rank-and-file steelworkers are not opposed to the no-strike pact. It means Abel's bureaucratic machine has had a lot of practice in steamrolling conventions and stifling discussion.

But Abel may not be able to suppress the right-to-strike issue in the election for the union presidency next year, at least if opposition leader Ed Sadlowski enters the contest. In 1974 Sadlowski defeated the machine candidate to become director of USWA District 31.

A.H. Raskin, labor commentator for the *New York Times*, wrote April 30 that "the chief interest in the [USWA] election will be what it foretells for the future of steel's peace plan," which Raskin calls "the most far-reaching now under way in any industry as a means to banish strikes by voluntary means."

If Sadlowski does run, Raskin said, "his central issue undoubtedly will be opposition to the arbitration plan and the whole trend toward closer top-level cooperation between the steel companies and the union."

Sadlowski's own stated position is that "the right to strike is the origin of the workers' power, and any industrial democracy that will mean a better share of the wealth for us cannot be had by abandoning that right."

Founding USWA convention

This year's USWA convention is not the first to convene under the crippling shadow of a no-strike deal. The union's founding convention, in May 1942, met just five months after the top leaders of the AFL and CIO, with steelworkers head Philip Murray in the lead, had pledged an end to strikes for the duration of the Second World War.

On the first day of that convention,

Murray served notice that no opposition to his policies would be tolerated. "I shall fight any attempt that is made to have little backroom caucuses while this convention is going on," he told the delegates.

Murray went on to ram through the convention one of the first fruits of the union surrender to President Franklin D. Roosevelt's war program: a resolution giving up premium pay for overtime, weekend, and holiday work.

Steelworkers were again the target in Roosevelt's wartime assault on labor two months later. The federal War Labor Board rejected the union's demand for a dollar-a-day wage increase. The board's decision was enshrined as the "Little Steel Formula," which amounted to a wage freeze for most CIO members.

In previous articles in this series, we saw how the promise of the early CIO movement was betrayed by its leadership's support to imperialist war and to the capitalist party.

World War II and the preparations for it marked a crucial turning point in this process. Under cover of the wartime "emergency," democratic rights were trampled on inside the unions and in society at large. The union bureaucrats tightened their grip and were drawn into collaboration with the government and the employers against the union ranks.

But this process was not carried through without resistance from the militant workers who had walked picket lines, conducted sit-down strikes, and battled the cops to organize the new industrial unions.

The union bureaucrats' subservience to capitalist politics impelled them to endorse and enforce the no-strike pledge, wage freeze, speedup, and other antilabor moves. But the workers' struggle against these assaults pushed them in the opposite direction: toward support for an independent labor party.

United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis and the other founders of the CIO had from the start tied the new union formation to Roosevelt and the Democratic party. But the militancy,

radicalization, and working-class solidarity that were part of the early CIO naturally posed the idea of labor acting for itself politically as well as on the picket line.

Sentiment for independent labor political action gained ground after a new economic slump began in 1937, while Roosevelt cut back social programs and prepared for war.

Lewis himself was shaken by Roosevelt's betrayal of the early auto and steel strikes. The UMW head had expected the president to return the favor after the unions had poured hundreds of thousands of dollars into Democratic campaigns. But for years Lewis refused to speak out against Roosevelt.

Lewis moved publicly only when he realized that Roosevelt was lining up other CIO leaders into an anti-Lewis faction—including Philip Murray, Lewis's lieutenant in the UMW and handpicked appointee to head the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

In January 1940 Lewis proclaimed his political break with Roosevelt and the Democrats. In words that could have been written for today, Lewis declared that "the Democratic party is in default to the American people" on every major issue. He charged that Roosevelt had "broken faith" with the American workers.

"In the Congress," Lewis said, "the unrestrained baiting and defaming of labor by the Democratic majority has become a pastime, never subject to rebuke by the titular or actual leaders of the party."

That August, Lewis told a cheering convention of the United Auto Workers: "Some day in this country the people are going to lose confidence in the existing political parties to a degree that they will form their own party."

But Lewis stopped short. Rather than adding his influence and authority to the movement for a labor party, he endorsed Republican Wendell Willkie in the 1940 presidential race. Putting all his prestige on the line, Lewis vowed to resign as CIO president if Roosevelt were reelected.

At the November 1940 CIO convention, Lewis stepped down and Philip Murray became CIO president.

Lewis had broken with Roosevelt the individual but not with capitalist politics. Although he had spoken out against the war drive, when Pearl Harbor came he joined in the no-strike pledge. Next to winning the war, he declared, "all other considerations become insignificant." Fortunately for the future of the labor movement, Lewis and the mine workers did not long stick to that position.

Smashing the wage freeze

In 1943 the miners rocked the country with a series of national coal strikes—the largest, most powerful and disciplined strikes the country had ever seen.

Roosevelt threatened to send troops to crush the strike. The capitalist press branded Lewis a "traitor" and a "Hitler." Top leaders of the AFL and CIO condemned the walkout. The Stalinist Communist party—which was 100 percent for Roosevelt and for U.S. imperialism in the war—sent strikebreakers into the coalfields to try to organize a back-to-work movement.

But the miners stood firm, and in November 1943 they won a settlement that smashed through the War Labor Board's wage freeze.

The miners' victory turned the tide of union defeats during the war and opened the way for a new wave of labor struggles. Without their determined fight, it is entirely possible that the unions would have been crushed during and after the war.

We get two cents

When the USWA's second convention convened in May 1944, Murray had his hands full trying to stamp out opposition to the no-strike pledge. Not more than forty delegates were even allowed to take the floor—Murray's

own harangues took up more than half the convention's time.

One of those who did get the mike was Timothy Smith, a Black delegate who was president of Local 2603 in Buffalo. He challenged Murray: "I have four or five grievances which I'll give the Executive Board. If they can settle them, I'll support the no-strike pledge. But I know they can't . . .

"Grievances are piled high in the War Labor Board. Yes, we can take our grievances to arbitration. But what happens? The lawyer gets \$12,000—we get two cents."

"There is a tendency among executives of this union," Smith charged, "to pick out and discipline stewards and local leaders for strikes in local plants. Those who have given blood, sweat, and tears to build this union are being pinned up against the wall by the executives."

Despite the wartime hysteria, one-fourth of the delegates voted against reaffirming the no-strike pledge.

'Labor must have own party'

Along with the renewed militancy came an upswing in demands for a labor party. One indication of the strength of this sentiment came at the June 1943 convention of the Wayne County (Detroit) Labor's Non-Partisan League. Over the opposition of leading CIO officials, the delegates, who represented some 200,000 CIO members, adopted a resolution that said, in part:

"Whereas: Labor is sick and tired of depending on so-called 'friends' in public office who are, in fact, in almost all instances, better friends of employers and reactionaries than they are of labor, and . . .

"Whereas: The Republican and Democratic parties have demonstrated their growing inability and unwillingness to solve the basic social problems of the workers of the nation, and

"Whereas: Labor must have its own political party to successfully cope with problems of unemployment and the social disorder that will exist in America in the postwar period; therefore be it

"Resolved: That this Convention . . . go on record in favor of the immediate establishment of an independent party of labor and working farmers . . ."

To head off the developing labor party movement, Murray set up in July 1943 the CIO Political Action Committee. PAC was to give the appearance of being labor's own political apparatus, but its efforts would be thrown into hustling votes for Roosevelt. Murray attacked the Michigan CIO convention and declared that "now is not the time" for a labor party.

More than forty years after the founding of the CIO, the time is long overdue for labor's strength to be exercised in politics—Independently and in its own interests.

Support to the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties wastes and dissipates labor's strength. It is the equivalent in the political arena of the no-strike pledge in the arena of economic action. Steelworkers and others fighting for militant, democratic unionism will need to sweep away both.

(Next: Black workers and the CIO)

Further reading on

Labor history

and its lessons for today

Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO by Art Preis. 538 pp., paper \$3.95

Books by Farrell Dobbs:
Teamster Rebellion 192 pp., paper \$2.45
Teamster Power 255 pp., paper \$2.95

Teamster Politics 256 pp., paper \$2.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

How to fight back

Wage freeze, layoffs hit N.Y. state workers

By Walt Snyder
and Mike Kozak

ALBANY, N.Y.—The pattern of employee layoffs and social service cutbacks perfected by New York City politicians and bankers is now being carried over to austerity schemes of the New York State government as well.

Gov. Hugh Carey, a Democrat elected with strong labor support, has shown great skill in his attacks on state workers. But the union leadership has so far responded in the same inept way and with the same dismal results as did the unions in New York City.

This unfortunate repetition of mistakes is clearly seen in the recent contract negotiations between the state and the Civil Service Employees Association (CSEA), which represents the majority of state government workers.

The contract accepted by the CSEA leaders freezes wages and benefits for the second straight year, despite a decline of 18 percent in real wages of state workers since April 1973. The thousands of layoffs already carried out are accepted without opposition, while procedures for thousands more to come are even formalized in the new contract.

Moreover, CSEA's negotiators

not the needs of state workers and residents that moves the governor and legislators.

Carey has already concluded that he can escalate his attack on state workers, taking each feeble response by the CSEA as a stepping stone for his next move.

Settling on a loser's contract has not saved jobs as was promised by CSEA leaders. Just the opposite! It has weakened the ability of state workers to defend our jobs, a fact that was made clear by Carey's announcement of more layoffs the day after the contract was settled.

The money is there

Governor Carey claims the money isn't there for jobs, higher wages, and social services. This is a lie.

New York State residents pay billi-

moralized by the turn of events and now wonder whether anything can be done to turn the situation around.

We believe that a new strategy is needed—one that rejects cooperation with the governor's antilabor austerity program and instead aims to mobilize the strength of our union and its potential allies to fight the cutbacks.

What we can do

State workers can begin by countering the lies spread by the governor, the legislators, and the news media. CSEA has the experienced people in its ranks who can dig up the facts.

We can show that wages are falling as a proportion of total state spending while interest payments and other subsidies to the rich are rising.

We can show that the tax structure is

other unions' opposition to the cutbacks, a step that would facilitate winning their support to our fight.

Out of these contacts CSEA would be in a position to initiate plans for massive, united actions against the cutbacks. Last spring's rally in Albany of 40,000 CSEA members against Carey's attacks was an example of what can be done this year. Such demonstrations should be expanded to include all unions and groups under attack.

Strengthen the union

Such a strategy, involving the active participation of the membership, could reverse the demoralization and divisiveness that is developing rapidly among state workers.

It would also be the most effective way to deal with the attempted raids by other unions on CSEA's ranks. A strong, united union that defends its members and wins new gains will not prompt embittered members to look elsewhere for union affiliation.

At the same time, such an approach would allow CSEA to voluntarily seek out alliances and possible affiliation with other unions to strengthen the bargaining position of state workers.

Above all, a turn to such a strategy could win for state workers the things we are entitled to: recovery of lost buying power; a full cost-of-living clause to protect wages and benefits against inflation; restoration of all lost jobs and services; a shorter workweek with no loss in weekly pay to provide jobs for other unemployed workers; and affirmative action for hiring and promotion of women and minorities.

Political action

Because of our position as public employees, CSEA members cannot avoid the fact that a fight against cutbacks is a political fight. State workers' needs are intertwined with issues of government spending, taxes, and political parties. Yet it is on the political level that state workers are weakest.

Few members would dream of inviting Carey, the state legislators, or other high state officials to join and lead our union. But on the political level, CSEA turns around and supports the Democratic and Republican parties, which are controlled by the top state officials—on behalf of the Wall Street financiers and other employers.

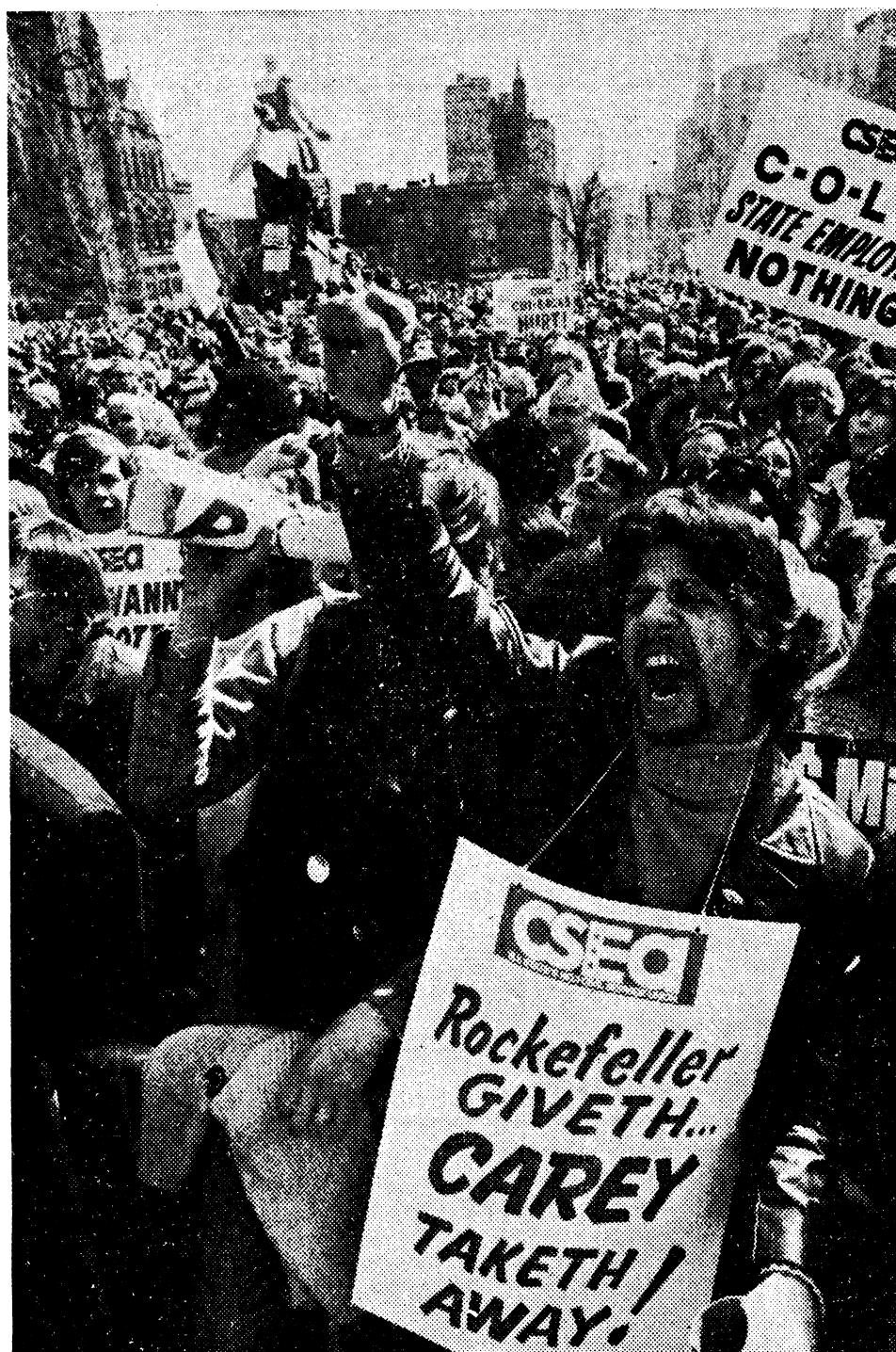
We need unions independent of the bosses to serve our immediate economic interests. And we need our own political instrument—Independent of the bosses—to fight for our needs politically.

State workers and other working people need our own party—a labor party—built by and based on the union movement.

The Democrats and Republicans pose as majority parties, but in fact they only represent the interests of a tiny minority—the capitalist class. We need a party that will champion the interests of the real majority—the working people.

CSEA could become a major force in initiating and building a labor party. We could make a beginning by fielding our own independent candidates—or even better, fielding joint candidates in cooperation with other unions—in the upcoming November legislative elections.

Such a move by CSEA would set a powerful example for the union movement of the entire country. It could be a major step toward forming a nationwide labor party that could fight to reverse the worsening situation all working people now face.



March 1975: 40,000 state workers protested in Albany. But CSEA leaders' support to Democratic and Republican politicians has crippled fight against cutbacks.

ons of dollars each year in taxes to support Washington's far-flung military apparatus. Billions of dollars more in the federal and state budgets go for interest payments to the banks and other wealthy holders of state bonds and notes.

Right now the state is openly laying plans to lower taxes on banks, corporations, and the highest income brackets—while raising taxes on workers and cutting our services.

It has become evident that the entire fiscal crisis represents a move to drastically redistribute income from the poorest people in the state to the richest.

Many state workers have been de-

becoming more regressive—placing more of the burden on working people and less on corporate profits.

We can show that there are plenty of funds available to meet social needs.

With this information CSEA can organize educational sessions at chapter meetings, encouraging the participation of all state workers. These meetings in turn could be used to organize teams of members to go out and win support from other unions, student groups, and community organizations.

This would require, of course, that CSEA reject attempts to pit its interests against these other groups. Instead, full support should be given to

Begin Texas petitioning to put SWP on ballot

By Stu Singer

HOUSTON—Texas socialists began petitioning here May 8 to put national and state candidates on the ballot.

Thousands of Texans signed to put the Socialist Workers party slate on the ballot. About fifty campaign supporters gathered signatures the first day of petitioning.

Texas law requires that a minimum of 16,550 valid signatures be collected by July.

Gene Lantz, the SWP candidate for Congress in the Eighth Congressional District, petitioned at a supermarket parking lot in his district.

"Hello, I'm running for Congress in this district as the Socialist Workers candidate," Lantz explained to people he approached. "You know, the rich get on the ballot automatically. But we working people have to petition just so we can have the right to vote for socialists."

Lantz reported that about 80 percent of the voters he approached signed the petitions.

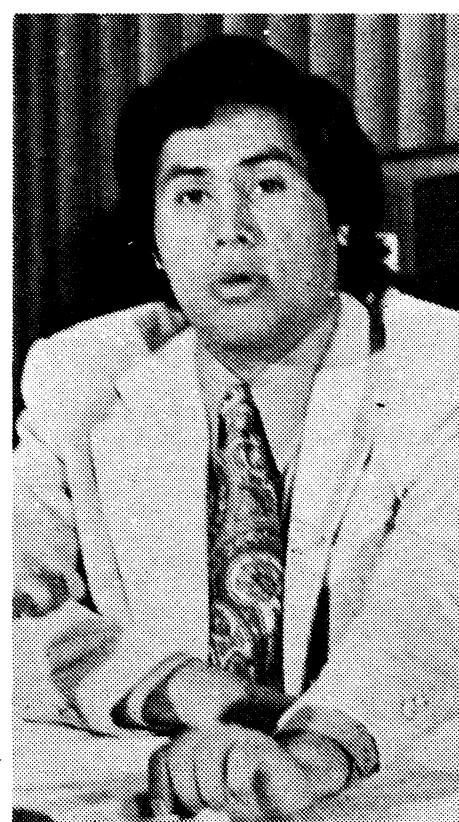
That night a campaign dinner and rally were held at a Mexican restaurant in Northeast Houston. Jill Fein, SWP candidate for Harris County commissioner, chaired the event.

Pam Pitt, an attorney and officer of the Harris County Women's Political Caucus, explained why the caucus had endorsed Fein.

"When it gets right down to it," Pitt said, "we know Jill won't sell us out."

Pitt said that Fein's Democratic opponent, Tom Bass, "sold us out" by voting against having an abortion clinic at Jefferson Davis county hospital in Houston. "We know Jill won't do that," Pitt said.

Pedro Vásquez, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, explained the many



Militant/Nelson Blackstock
Pedro Vásquez, socialist candidate for U.S. Senate in Texas.

obstacles the Democratic and Republican parties put in the way of socialists getting on the ballot. Vásquez's appeal for funds brought in \$4,500 in pledges.

The rally ended with a talk by Malik Miah, a member of the SWP National Committee. Miah, who has lived in Boston for the past one-and-a-half years, traced the development of the struggle over busing in that city, and described the SWP's activities in combating the racist offensive.

...California ballot drive

Continued from back page

In 1973 the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) filed suit in federal court against the election law on behalf of the Socialist Workers party, the Raza Unida party, and several other smaller parties. Arguments in the case were heard this spring, and a decision is currently pending.

The mounting support for the CoDEL suit and a challenge filed by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of Communist party candidates were instrumental in convincing legislators to lower the ballot requirements. CoDEL also pressed for open hearings on the bill and testified against all restrictive requirements when the hearings were held in March 1976.

The California petitioning effort marks a new level of activity for both the Socialist Workers 1976 national and California campaigns.

Peter Camejo and running-mate Willie Mae Reid will go to California to help publicize the campaign and launch the ballot drive. Teams of volunteers from around the country will be needed in July to pitch in on the drive.

California Socialist Workers campaign director Bruce Marcus cited the recent geographic expansion of the party in California as an important factor in the effort. "There are now thirteen branches of the Socialist Workers party in the state," said Marcus. "That means we will have ballot-organizing centers in most major metropolitan areas."

"There is no question that the

How you can help

Volunteers are urgently needed for the California drive. Anyone able to help with petitioning, distributing literature, or other campaign activities should write to: Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign, 4040 W. Washington Blvd., Suite 11, Los Angeles, California 90018; or phone (213) 732-8197. For the locations of SWP campaign offices throughout the state, consult the Socialist Directory on page 27.

Calendar

BERKELEY

THE NATURE OF THE SOVIET UNION—DEGENERATED WORKERS STATE? STATE CAPITALISM? SOVIET IMPERIALISM? A special mini-educational conference. Hear a Trotskyist analysis. Speaker: Art Sharon, veteran Trotskyist leader. Sat., May 22, 1 p.m. 1849 University Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

CLASSES ON SOCIALISM. Racism, sexism, and revolution. Thurs., May 20, 7:30 p.m. 2 Central Square. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (617) 547-4395 or 262-4621.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN OPEN HOUSE. Meet Carol Henderson Evans, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Cointelpro documents on display. Refreshments. Sat., May 22, 1 p.m. 2 Central Square. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (617) 547-4395.

CINCINNATI

LATEST FBI/CIA CRIMES: MORE BUSINESS AS USUAL. Speaker: Tom Kincaid, SWP. Thurs., May 20, 7:30 p.m. Tangeman University Center, Room 427, University of Cincinnati. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 321-7445.

CLEVELAND

ISSUES FACING THE STEELWORKERS. A panel of United Steelworkers activists. Fri., May 21, 8 p.m. 2300 Payne Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 661-4166.

LONG BEACH, CALIF.

CLASSES ON SOCIALISM. What went wrong with the Soviet Union and China? Thurs., May 27, 7:30 p.m. 3322 Anaheim (corner of Redondo). Ausp: SWP. For more information call (213) 597-0965.

MINNEAPOLIS

U.S. POLICY CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. Speaker: August Nimitz, SWP. Fri., May 21, 8 p.m. 15 Fourth St. SE. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

...Klan

Continued from page 3

consider the Pasadena suit against court-ordered busing, that is a cross burned.

"When Chicanos are denied the right to bilingual education, that is another cross burned."

The rally was sponsored by the United Citizens Emergency Action Committee, a civil rights coalition that includes the NAACP, Student Coalition Against Racism, Urban League, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Southern California Fair Housing Congress, Los Angeles Human Relations Commission, and many others.

Speaking for the coalition, Rev. Clayton Russell said that delegations had gone to local officials, including the Los Angeles district attorney, demanding a full and immediate investigation.

"Our presence here today displays our determination to work for the right of every American citizen to live, go to school, and work where they choose without the threat of violence," Russell said.

Minister Hassan from the Los Angeles Mosque of the Nation of Islam pledged the Nation's full support to the movement to stop the anti-Black night riders.

Telegrams of support for the rally were read from Angela Davis, Ralph Abernathy, U.S. Sen. John Tunney, and Rep. Yvonne Braithwaite Burke.

Omari Musa, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate, attended the rally and issued a statement of support. It read, in part:

"The racists in Los Angeles opposed to desegregation in schools and housing have been spurred on by the racist hysteria in Boston. I condemn the racist assault against Black families and call for the immediate arrest of the criminals."

"My campaign supports the right of Blacks to live anywhere they choose and the right of Black students to an equal education through any means, including busing."

NEWARK

EDUCATION, TRANSPORTATION, HEALTH CARE—WHO SHOULD PAY? A discussion on New Jersey income tax. Speakers: Alfonso Román, executive director of New Jersey Congreso Boricua (New Jersey Puerto Rican Congress); Mike Hodge, New Jersey Educational Reform Project; Irwin Nack, president, Paterson State College American Federation of Teachers; Sam Crane, New Jersey Student Association lobbyist; Andy Farrand, SWP. Fri., May 21, 8 p.m. 11A Central Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 624-7434.

PITTSBURGH

FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM. Speaker: Carla Hoag, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, Fourteenth District. Fri., May 21, 8 p.m. 3400 Fifth Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

SAN DIEGO

EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT: HOW TO ACHIEVE VICTORY. Speaker: Adrienne Benjamin, YSA; others. Fri., May 21, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

SEATTLE

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE. Sat., May 22, 11 a.m.: *Black liberation: strategy against racism.* Speaker: Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from California. 2 p.m.: *Women's fight for equality.* Speaker: Barbara Hennigan. HUB Room A, University of Washington. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Omari Musa, SWP; Patricia Bethard, SWP candidate for governor; Carmen Maymi, SWP candidate for Washington state legislature, Thirty-seventh District. Sat., May 22, 7 p.m., social hour; 8 p.m., rally. Polish Hall, 1714 Eighteenth Ave. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Washington State Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (206) 522-7800 or 329-7404.

ST. LOUIS

SOCIALIST WORKERS BANQUET AND RALLY. Rally to put socialist candidates on the ballot. Speakers: Maceo Dixon, coordinator of National Student Coalition Against Racism; Ed Warren, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, First District. Sat., May 22, 7 p.m., dinner; 8 p.m., rally. Peacock Alley (Laclede Town), 75 N. Ewing. Donation: \$3.50; rally only: \$1. Ausp: Missouri Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (314) 367-0463.

The rally closed with cheers for Shirley and Henry Scott, targets of a cross burning, who declared, "We will not be moved!"

...Illinois

Continued from page 8

she will attend a national ERA rally in Springfield on May 16 and that she thinks Walker, Howlett and Thompson should be there too.

"I challenge them to be with me in Springfield on May 16."

The "in words only" support for the ERA by the most powerful politicians in the state—most of whom are Democrats—is particularly transparent. As Ann Ladke, editor of the Chicago-based feminist magazine the *Spokeswoman* said at a Militant Forum earlier this year, "Daley, Walker, Howlett, and the rest of them get everything else they want through—why not the ERA?"

Thompson has also blasted President Ford's recent veto of federal funding for child-care facilities. Illinois women will be especially hard hit by this veto, since 35,000 of the 40,000 children in child-care centers here are in federally supported centers.

At a May 3 news conference in Springfield, Thompson announced that a month-long petitioning campaign to put the SWP candidates on the Illinois ballot would begin in June. Supporters plan to collect well over the 25,000 signatures required to place both state and national SWP candidates on the ballot. They will also collect 4,500 signatures to qualify Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate in Illinois's First Congressional District.

Other SWP candidates for state office announced at the news conference are Dennis Brasky, lieutenant governor; Lynn Masterson, secretary of state; Nancy Cohen, attorney general; Tom O'Brien, comptroller; and John Pottinger, David Tucker, and Mark Harris, University of Illinois Board of Trustees.

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Issues in Boston

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WHO KILLED JIM CROW? The Story of the Civil Rights Movement and Its Lessons for Today, by Peter Camejo. 60 cents

FROM MISSISSIPPI TO BOSTON: The Demand for Troops to Enforce Civil Rights. An Education for Socialists publication, 8½ x 11 format, 75 cents

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ERA in '76!

Socialist Workers party candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid are making support of the Equal Rights Amendment a special



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Join them in campaigning for ratification of the ERA. Use the coupon below to order "E.R.A. in '76!" materials.

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THE MILITANT

Biggest petition effort ever

Calif. ballot drive set: a first for socialists

By Steve Wattenmaker

NEW YORK—The Socialist Workers party announced May 12 that it will petition to put its presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, and its senatorial candidate, Omari Musa, on the California ballot.

The drive to collect well over the required 100,000 signatures from California voters will be the largest petitioning effort ever undertaken by the Socialist Workers party. The effort will be a national focus of the party's campaign this summer.

Andrea Morell, the Socialist Workers national campaign director, announced, "Petitioning in California will be part of an all-out statewide drive for the entire summer. Hundreds of thousands of people will be reached with the SWP campaign through the petitioning, expanded media work, and massive literature distribution."

Petitioning can begin July 5 and must be completed by September 3. The SWP is attempting to obtain ballot status in thirty states and the District of Columbia.

The decision to launch this major effort in the country's most populous state was reached after the California legislature recently adopted a bill reducing petitioning requirements from 320,000 to 100,000—the equivalent of 1 percent of those who were registered for the November 1974 election.



Socialist Workers party offices in Berkeley, California

Militant/Joseph Ryan

California's election laws—the most restrictive in the country—still make it impossible for smaller parties to gather the 640,000 signatures required to place the party name on the ballot. Under the new legislation, however, supporters of the SWP can petition to place the names of its individual candidates on the ballot.

"That the Socialist Workers party will be seeking ballot status for the first time in California is a historic breakthrough for the socialist movement," said Morell. "No working-class party has filed for ballot status in thirty-six years—since California passed restrictive election laws in 1940."

The Communist party has also announced that it will seek ballot status for its candidates in California as a result of the changed requirements.

The passage of the bill was part of a six-year battle to open up the California ballot.

Continued on page 26

Mobilize June 5 to put probusing candidates on Massachusetts ballot

By Susan LaMont

BOSTON—if supporters of the Socialist Workers party 1976 national campaign have anything to say about it, there will be an antiracist, probusing, socialist alternative on the Massachusetts ballot this November.

A massive effort is needed in May and June to collect tens of thousands of signatures above the minimum of 37,000 legally required to qualify the Socialist Workers candidates.

Carol Henderson Evans, socialist candidate for Edward Kennedy's Senate seat, told the *Militant*, "Saturday, June 5, will be a target day to kick off the drive in a big way. On that day supporters will canvass the greater Boston metropolitan area—and the nearby cities of Worcester, New Bedford, and Springfield—distributing campaign literature and collecting signatures."

The petitions will qualify Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid for president and vice-president, Evans for

Senate, and James "Mac" Warren for U.S. Congress from Boston's Ninth District. Warren's campaign is already off and running in Roxbury's Black community, where a new socialist campaign office has just been opened.

"This will be the second time that the SWP has been on the Massachusetts ballot in a presidential election year," Evans explained. "But the confrontation going on today between the opponents of busing and the Boston Black community makes putting us on the ballot more important now than ever."

Congressional candidate Warren pointed to the fact that none of the Democratic or Republican presidential front-runners supports busing—in fact, Gerald Ford has given backhanded support to the antibusing forces ever since the current struggle broke out two years ago. "And Jimmy Carter's remarks about 'ethnic purity,'" Warren said, "were music to the ears of the racist antibusing bigots."

"Of course the capitalist politicians all bemoan the violence of attacks such as the one against Theodore Landsmark [a Black attorney beaten by a mob of whites April 5]. But not one has voiced a single word of criticism against the members and elected officials of *their own parties* who are presiding over the antibusing offensive and whose actions inspire and embolden the violent fringe."

Carol Henderson Evans's opponent in the race for U.S. Senate, Edward Kennedy, is often pointed to as an exception because of his stated position in favor of busing.

But Evans responds: "Talk is cheap. The Boston Black community needs active support, and so far Kennedy has been sitting this one out. All the sideline commentary emanating from his campaign office has not advanced the struggle for school desegregation one iota."

A team of about twenty volunteer campaign supporters will begin collect-

ing signatures in advance of the big statewide mobilizations slated for June 5 and 12. Nearly 300 supporters have already signed up to hit the streets on those days, and the list is still open.

Evans and Warren issued the following message to supporters of Black rights:

"The assault on Black rights in Boston demands an effective answer in the streets—through united mass mobilizations such as those previously organized by the NAACP and the National Student Coalition Against Racism—and on the November ballot."

"The socialist campaign in Massachusetts is *your* campaign. We urge you to join the summer drive to place the Socialist Workers party on the ballot."

For more information, or to volunteer to help, write to Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 510 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02215; or call (617) 262-4621.